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This year the *Journal* received more submissions of articles and book reviews than ever before. As Editor-in-Chief, I would like to thank all of those who submitted articles for their interest and the fine quality of their work. I regret that more of them could not be published. Despite continued support by the UCLA Graduate Students Association, the Social Sciences Council, the History Graduate Students Association and the History Department, our funds do not match our needs. For this reason we are regretfully raising our subscription rates to bring our funds more in line with our expenses.

The Editorial Board is pleased to be able to offer the Theodore Saloutos Award for outstanding graduate work for a second year. We would like to thank all those who contributed to the award fund, and invite others to help guarantee the perpetuity of this award.

As departing Editor-in-Chief, I would like to personally thank all those on the editorial board for their support and conscientious work. I am also grateful to the Department of History's typing staff, without which this publication would not be possible. Many others have added their advice, support, and talents to this publication. And for all of them I am thankful. Above all I would like to thank my professors for their unending patience with a "busy" editor, especially my advisor Professor Michael Morony.

Finally, congratulations to next year's Editor-in-Chief, Michael Gelb, and the new staff.

Patricia K. Wright
Editor-in-Chief

** Announcing **

The UCLA Historical Journal

CONGRATULATES

BRADLEY H. POLLOCK

WINNER OF THE

Theodore Saloutos Award

FOR HIS ARTICLE

"JOHN C. DANCY, THE DEPRESSION AND THE NEW DEAL"

John C. Dancy, The Depression and the New Deal

Bradley H. Pollock

The Great Depression dealt a horrible blow to black America. From 1929 through 1933, few blacks could find jobs of any kind. "A specter of starvation haunted black America." Competition for available jobs was intense; unemployed whites now sought after the menial jobs that were traditionally reserved for blacks. Blacks were fired by the thousands, specifically to hire whites in their place, and found themselves displaced *en masse* from garbage collecting, street cleaning and domestic service.[1]

During this period of hardship, John C. Dancy was Director of the Detroit Urban League (DUL). The National Urban League (NUL) had been created to deal with the economic and social problems of Afro-Americans, particularly those residing in urban areas. The major migration of blacks from the South to northern urban areas created new problems which the Urban League sought to address and the Depression aggravated. A comparison of the policies and programs of the DUL with those of the NUL reveals the distinctive qualities of Dancy's leadership that underwent significant changes in attitude and approach as the economic crisis and New Deal programs proceeded. Dancy was more conservative and slower to change than was the national leadership of the Urban League. His approach to race relations and racial uplift was clearly a product of the Booker T. Washington school of thought. The conditions caused by the Depression forced the NUL to increase its militancy and its

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involvement in politics. Dancy gradually and reluctantly accepted these changes in policy.

The National Urban League was founded on October 16, 1911 in New York City. It was a direct outgrowth of the Progressive era. The NUL resulted from the merger of three racial uplift organizations: the National League for the Protection of Colored Women, the Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, and the Committee for Improving the Industrial Condition of Negroes in New York. Unlike these previous committees, the NUL was intended to be a broad organization that was national in scope. In many respects the NUL was a classic example of the progressive reform organizations of the day, and the white members of this new organization were involved in a range of municipal reforms and social justice movements. In fact, almost without exception, these white members fit the stereotype of the Progressive reformers of the early 1900s—they were members of the Anglo Saxon Protestant upper middle class.[2]

As Nancy Weiss indicates in her study of the NUL, progressivism is best understood if it is broken down into two wings. One wing consisted of a racist political movement (which supported black disenfranchisement and Jim Crow Legislation), the other, a humanitarian social justice movement. Within the social justice wing of progressivism were many intellectuals, social workers, and philanthropists who were concerned with the plight of Afro-Americans. It was progressive reformers of this type who played important roles in the NUL and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the two central racial organizations of the day.[3]

Two approaches formed the basis of the NUL philosophy. The first sought to professionalize social service work in the black community, stressing sociological research as a basis for social reform. The second approach was a conservative individualistic philosophy of racial uplift, influenced primarily by the teachings of Booker T. Washington.[4]

In this period (1910-1930), the major ideological influence on the NAACP was the thought of W.E.B. DuBois, which differed from that of Washington on several key points. The NAACP, in keeping with DuBois' philosophy, focused on the attainment of political and legal rights for blacks. DuBois believed that although economic issues were a fundamental concern, without political rights and social equality, the black community could secure few economic gains.[5]

The NUL, on the other hand, focused on preparing blacks for full citizenship by seeking to give them a stake in the nation's economy. This approach implied that blacks were second class citizens in America not because of racism per se, but because they were as yet unworthy of equality. This Washingtonian philosophy assumed that if blacks acquired wealth through a program of self-help and adopted white cultural values,

such as the Protestant Work Ethic, then whites would accept them into mainstream society. The Urban League sought to promote such values in the black community and to help blacks find economic opportunities. The Urban League, however, strayed from Washington's philosophy by placing its emphasis on the urban rather than the rural black community. Furthermore, in addition to help in job-seeking, the NUL provided social services to ease the pressures of urbanization on city-dwelling blacks.[6]

While the Urban League was engaged in job-seeking, counseling and social research, the NAACP employed agitation, public protest, propaganda, political lobbying, and court tests as tactics in its struggle for equality. The Urban League was far less overtly militant in its approach, and its public image was more conservative than that of the NAACP. Some leaders of the NAACP, such as Joel Spingarn, argued that the work of the Urban League was just as important as their own and that much of that work would be impossible if the League maintained a radical image like that of the NAACP. Through mild persuasion and diplomacy, the Urban League was often able to get money and jobs from some of the most conservative elements of society.[7]

Once the national office of the Urban League was established, the organization dedicated itself to expansion. Many cities had independent black social service agencies of various kinds. The Urban League absorbed many of these agencies through a program of national affiliation. Next to the national office in New York, the founding of the Chicago branch was most important. It was hoped that a successful branch in Chicago would serve as a model for the entire Midwest.

The First World War and the increasing job opportunities it created in the North led to an enormous influx of blacks into midwestern cities. This fact, together with money from philanthropist Julius Rosenwald, enabled the National Urban League to establish additional affiliate branches. By 1919, NUL branches were established in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Columbus (Ohio), Detroit, Cleveland, Newark and Milwaukee.[8]

The Detroit Urban League was founded in 1916 with Forrester B. Washington as its executive secretary. His term in office was a short one, for in 1918 he was appointed to the Division of Negro Economics in the Department of Labor. John C. Dancy succeeded Washington as head of the DUL and remained so through the Second World War. John C. Dancy was born in Salisbury, North Carolina, on April 13, 1888. His father was a minister and local political figure. John was educated at Livingston College and at the University of Pennsylvania. Before joining the DUL he worked as a teacher and as a social worker. Dancy was one of Detroit's leading citizens, and he led the DUL for over four decades, periodically holding other positions of influence as well. He was a member of the Board of Trustees of the American Association of Social Workers, and he

was appointed by Mayor Frank Murphy of Detroit as a member of the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment and later as a commissioner of the Detroit House of Correction.[9]

When the stock market crashed in 1929 and the national economy began to collapse, Dancy remained quite optimistic. In response to a letter requesting information on the employment of blacks in Detroit, Dancy wrote that although blacks suffered more than others, all had felt the onslaught of the Depression. Furthermore, he stressed his faith in Hoover's administration and expected things to improve shortly. Dancy pointed out that few jobs were open to blacks even in the best of times, although there were certain areas of employment open to educated middle class blacks such as teaching, social work and government service jobs. Dancy argued that in these areas job opportunities for blacks were actually increasing. The implication of Dancy's statement is that for the majority of Detroit's black population the job market was scarce indeed, but the Depression had not made things substantially worse.[10]

Those who were unemployed were forced to go to the Department of Public Welfare for relief. The relief offered, however, was very meager and short-term. The scarcity of jobs and the inadequacy of the local relief program caused workers to fear losing their jobs, which led to a reduction in the number of strikes. The few strikes that did take place allowed blacks to get jobs as strikebreakers. This served to aggravate the racist attitudes of most labor unions. Blacks were blamed for the defeat of organizing drives in the auto, coal, and railroad industries. In 1929 black strikebreakers were accused of breaking the longshoreman strike in Boston. Dancy viewed strikebreaking by blacks as an effective means of gaining employment when no other outlets were available. According to Dancy, the interests of black workers were often closer to that of capital than to that of white workers.[11]

At this early stage of the Depression, Dancy's tone was upbeat and optimistic, searching for something positive in even the most horrendous situation. This was not true of H.N. Robinson, director of the Chicago Urban League. According to Robinson, conditions for blacks in Chicago were extremely bleak. In a memo released to all Urban League locals, Robinson advised blacks to stay away from Chicago, for industrial workers were being laid off daily and even domestics could not find work.[12] Throughout the early years of the Depression, things continued to get worse, and increasing racism and discrimination were steadily displacing those blacks who had found jobs. In February of 1932, T. Arnold Hill (director of industrial relations for the NUL) released a memo which stated that groups of whites and even trade unions were demanding the displacement of blacks to provide jobs for white workers. Hill cited

examples of such activity and argued that the black community must organize against such action.[13]

In Detroit during the same month, the Labor Research Association (a group with Communist connections) published a report, "How The Crisis Hit The Auto Workers." Among other claims, this report attacked Detroit's relief program for being disorganized and doling out relief without regard to actual need. The report implied that blacks, a large percentage of the most needy, were discriminated against.[14] However, since blacks made up thirty percent of those on relief in Detroit while comprising only seven percent of the population, Dancy argued that there was no racial discrimination in Detroit's relief program. People were arbitrarily refused relief, but according to Dancy this action was not based on race in any way. Furthermore, Dancy saw no conscious organized effort to displace blacks from jobs as was taking place elsewhere in the nation. Dancy, apparently, had great faith in Detroit's business leadership and in the Mayor's Committee on Unemployment to prevent any organized racial discrimination. In fact, in a letter to Walter White of the NAACP, Dancy took a very unusual position. He maintained that the economic crisis would actually improve race relations! He argued that blacks could eat and buy homes in places that had been off limits to them before the Depression. Dancy saw this as signaling a trend and thought that other racial barriers would begin to break down. In Dancy's opinion, "Prejudice is not increasing . . . While I have noticed no particular manifestations of tolerance or understanding, it appears that this depression has made us all kin."[15] Dancy's argument suggests that economic hardship would make racial discrimination simply unaffordable. However, since blacks as a whole were hit even harder by the Depression than were whites, this change would have little effect on their lives, particularly if it were not accompanied by a real change in racial attitudes.

In the period from 1929 through 1933, Dancy's personal leadership and thought were clearly the determining factors in DUL policy. Dancy's main approach in this period focused on gaining employment for individual blacks by negotiating and lobbying with local white businessmen. This was generally the standard approach of the Urban League as a whole at this time. Dancy had contact with many private businessmen and local political figures in Detroit and was apparently quite a diplomat since he was able to secure a number of jobs for black individuals, particularly those with professional training.[16]

The first few years of the Depression did not sway Dancy from this traditional approach. Dancy's political and economic views were essentially conservative. According to Dancy, his views reflected those of Detroit's black community as a whole. As proof of his contention, Dancy pointed out that the Communist Party had little support in Detroit's black

community in spite of the severity of economic conditions. The Communists were desperate for black recruits, according to Dancy, and went to ludicrous lengths to attract them--but to no avail.[17]

A Washingtonian at heart, Dancy believed that the "better" elements of the black community would prove themselves worthy in the eyes of white society--and that a philosophy of black "self-help" and accommodation to white authority was the best approach to black advancement.[18] He was a black Republican and had a number of fairly close ties to conservative Republicans throughout the state of Michigan. One such contact was a Mr. Chester M. Culver of the Employers' Association, who solicited Dancy's support for a campaign against the organization of a local schoolteachers union. Included with Culver's request for support was a propaganda sheet entitled, "A Political School Teacher is a Public Enemy." This sheet argued that a teachers union would ruin education and was, in fact, a Communist conspiracy. Dancy apparently made no reply to Mr. Culver's letter; or if he did, he saw fit not to include it in the Detroit Urban League papers.[19]

Economic conditions continued to decline and by 1933 it was practically impossible to find jobs for unemployed blacks in Detroit. This plight may not have radicalized Dancy, but it did have an effect on the agenda of the DUL. Dancy's ability to find positions even for college educated blacks was drastically curtailed. As of January 1933, forty thousand families in Detroit were on relief and well over thirty percent were black families. Unable to provide employment, Dancy, together with other members of the Detroit Community Fund, organized a program called, "Community Program for Cultural Expression When There is Drastic Extension of Leisure Time." The focus of this program was to keep unemployed people busy with "cultural affairs." This can be interpreted as a Washingtonian "cultural uplift" program or as a throwback to a Hull House approach toward immigrant uplift. Under the circumstances there appeared to be little else Dancy and the DUL could do.[20] Nevertheless, Dancy remained optimistic; he did not view the disproportionate unemployment of blacks as a result of intensifying racism.

The inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) took place on March 4, 1933, and about this time Dancy began to realize the full austerity of the Depression and the unlikelihood that it would soon end. The DUL was going broke, with all of its funds tied up in banks which had been closed the previous month by the Governor of Michigan. The same was true of the Detroit Community Fund and the Childrens' Fund (community organizations that helped to finance DUL programs). According to Dancy "...the banks have all my possessions...in the language of the street we are in a hell of a fix."[21] Dancy referred to the closing of the banks in a

negative, anti-New Deal tone. This probably reflected Dancy's conservatism and Republican allegiance rather than resentment of the bank closings, since the banks of Michigan were closed before President Roosevelt's "Bank Holiday." This shortage of funds forced Dancy to begin laying off case workers and others employed by the DUL. He anguished over this, but the situation was out of his control.[22]

After FDR took office the orientation of the National Urban League began to change. From the very beginning the New Deal created new opportunities for blacks. To take advantage of such opportunities, however, the black community had to be organized and vigilant. During the new President's first month in office, T. Arnold Hill wrote to Dancy concerning the new beer legislation. Now that prohibition was over, Hill was afraid that blacks would not be hired or rehired at breweries that were reopening. Blacks needed every job they could find and could not allow a new industry to open without black participation. Dancy's attitude differed from Hill's; he replied that Detroit breweries were not hiring blacks, but this was because they were only rehiring experienced men--not because of racial discrimination.[23]

Hill's more aggressive position was indicative of the change in NUL policy. The national office thought it was necessary to begin to lobby the federal government on behalf of the black community. The NUL was receiving reports of racial discrimination in employment and relief nationwide. As a result, Eugene Kinckle Jones (Executive Secretary of the NUL) wrote to Dancy and asked him to organize ten or more prominent people in Detroit and have them call or telegraph the new Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins, to urge her to protect the welfare of black workers.[24]

The Depression quickly dried up the National Urban League's traditional sources of funding and support, and it could no longer depend on private philanthropy to the extent it once had. However, the federal government and the New Deal loomed as potential sources of support, which would perhaps respond benevolently if the plight of the black community was made known to FDR's administration.[25]

The National Recovery Administration (NRA) was one of the major agencies of the New Deal prior to 1935. Its purpose was to repair the damage done by the Depression to America's industrial sector. Two of its central methods were to control industrial production and to establish a code of fair practices among industries crucial to the national economy.[26] The majority of black leaders responded negatively to the NRA since they blamed the NRA for large displacements of black industrial workers. The NRA codes never covered most black workers, who were either domestics or unskilled laborers, and in the South many NRA provisions allowed lower wage minimums for black workers than for white workers. In the

industrial North, where employers were required to pay the same wage to workers regardless of race, blacks lost their jobs in large numbers. Employers preferred to replace black workers with white workers or machines rather than pay them an equal wage. Thus, the NRA had the effect of sparking discrimination rather than reducing it. Black job displacements induced indirectly by NRA codes became so widespread that black leaders began to refer to the NRA as the "Negro Removal Act."[27] It seemed at this point that blacks could place no faith in New Deal programs. Nevertheless, the NUL resolved to continue its lobbying efforts and to struggle against discrimination--especially in the NRA. In August of 1933 the Urban League established Emergency Advisory Councils for Negro Workers (EAC) whose purpose was to investigate claims of discrimination and to provide information to black workers on NRA programs. To this effect T. Arnold Hill stated clearly:

> The Urban League is determined that the Negro shall receive his rights as a citizen in the administration of the plans for national recovery. As a matter of fact, there can be no national recovery if the twelve million Negroes are excluded from the benefits which the Administration hopes to obtain by the extra-ordinary measures passed recently by the Congress.[28]

According to Hill, the EAC would have branches at the national, state and local levels which would cooperate in the effort to weed out discrimination in the NRA. When the FDR administration was made aware of the gross discrimination and job displacement going on under NRA auspices, NRA officials proposed as a possible solution to establish lower wage codes for black workers as was already the case in parts of the South. Blacks could do without this kind of "job protection", and Hill attacked the proposal vehemently. He asserted that if blacks were paid starvation wages, it would depress the wages of all workers. In anger, Hill proclaimed, "...it is better that Negro workers insist upon wages equal to those paid whites, even if it means their ultimate discharge, than to accept smaller wages and thereby perpetuate the class distinctions that now exist:...Are we to have a New Deal for whites and an Old Deal for Negroes?"[29] Hill's position, which was militant and uncompromising, indicated a change in the attitude of the NUL. Not only was the Urban League orienting itself toward the federal government, but it was doing so in an aggressive manner.

Leuchtenburg indicates in his study that by 1934 the NRA was widely criticized and that black leaders were among its harshest critics. Surprisingly Dancy's criticism was relatively mild. Dancy believed that

the programs of the NRA were fundamentally sound, even though they did nothing to prevent racial discrimination. Even in Detroit, when the NRA codes established minimum wages, blacks were fired in large numbers and replaced by whites. This was due to the racism of individual employers, according to Dancy, and the government agents of the NRA were not to be blamed for it. Dancy followed the lead of T. Arnold Hill and the NUL and criticized discrimination where he found it. His tone, however, was less severe and he was generally complimentary of the Roosevelt administration as a whole. In fact, Dancy made a point of saying that he was pleased with what he considered to be the Roosevelt administration's stand against racism. Dancy was not specific, but he was probably referring to FDR's denouncement of lynching and his support (although hesitant and merely verbal) of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. In spite of his compliments, Dancy was careful to make clear that he was not endorsing the Democratic Party.[30]

The Public Works Administration (PWA), organized in 1933 and provided for legislatively by the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), had a different record with regard to blacks. The PWA was part of the Department of the Interior under the leadership of Harold Ickes. The official purpose of the PWA was to prime the pump of the national economy through capital expenditure. This was to be done by large scale public works projects of a wide variety. President Roosevelt's initial reaction to this plan was negative, and he had to be convinced (by advisors such as Harry Hopkins) of its validity and necessity. Ickes was a cautious, though zealous, reformer and the massive building projects of the PWA were carried out far too slowly to do much toward stimulating the economy. This slowness was due in part to Ickes' meticulous efforts to prevent waste and corruption within the PWA. Like Hopkins, Ickes was particularly sensitive to the problems of blacks and diligently worked to prevent racial discrimination in the PWA. Ickes' efforts were not totally successful, but the PWA under his direction did more to eliminate federal indifference to discrimination than anything since Reconstruction.[31]

Ickes insisted that the number of blacks hired by PWA projects reflect their percentage in the population. PWA policy also provided that blacks be hired as skilled as well as unskilled laborers. Officials in the South largely ignored PWA directives with regard to race. However, northern urban areas like Detroit and Cincinnati followed Ickes' demands closely. The PWA built a large number of low cost public housing projects; and not only were black workers involved in their construction, but they also occupied a third of all such housing units. This housing provided homes for many middle class blacks as well as the very poor, and in fact, the rental fees paid by blacks were less than those of whites. In cities like Detroit, these housing projects had the effect of increasing residential

segregation, but this apparently was not a central concern of black leaders at this time. Some blacks were hired as skilled workers by the PWA, but the majority of PWA unskilled workers were blacks. The concern of black leaders, however, was that blacks were being hired by the PWA rather than displaced.[32]

For years President Roosevelt had dreamed of a nationwide conservation program that would beautify and restore the countryside while employing young men and giving them the benefits of military discipline. This dream was actualized in the formation of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Young men employed by the CCC were paid a small wage in addition to room and board, lived in work camps, and received military discipline as part of their job. Roosevelt believed that military regimentation was good for their character and made sure it was included in the program. The CCC was involved in soil and wildlife conservation and planted more trees than any other organization in the nation's history, public or private.[33] There was little contact between the CCC and the DUL, and Dancy had little to say concerning it. The only evidence of interest in the CCC on Dancy's part involved a couple of letters from individuals requesting Dancy's help in gaining admittance to the local camp outside Detroit.

The NUL office claimed that blacks were not given an equal opportunity to participate in the CCC program and were often denied acceptance into the camps in order to allow more places for whites. This kind of discrimination was particularly acute in the South. In October of 1933, T. Arnold Hill released a memo to all Urban League locals suggesting that all branch directors write to Frank Pearson (director of the U.S. Employment Service) to ensure the fair treatment of blacks by the CCC. Furthermore, Hill stated that local branches should make sure that black applicants to the CCC understood the proper application procedures, and that local Urban Leagues should also lobby with their local relief organizations to protect black applicants against discrimination.[34]

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided a variety of relief programs for those in need. These programs ranged from direct relief, or "the dole," as it was sometimes called, to work relief and relief for transients. Once again the NUL was worried about discrimination, and with good reason. In the nation as a whole, blacks were discriminated against in relief programs, especially in the South, and particularly in work relief programs. Dancy had contact with New Deal relief agencies in several noteworthy ways. In November 1933 the FERA allotted over $472,000 to twenty-four states in order to carry out relief programs for transients, which ran until FERA's funds began to dry up. Dancy made an attempt to secure funding through the FERA for the DUL transient program. The sources are unclear however, on whether he

received the funding or not. In a similar manner, Dancy sought funding from the FERA for an adult education program. The federal guidelines, however, only provided such funding for rural areas or for adults who could not read or write English.[35] When the entire public school system of Detroit was about to collapse, Dancy became involved in the effort to secure funding for the school system and organized a small self-improvement program for adults and high school drop-outs that received funding through the FERA. This also allowed Dancy to provide jobs for a few unemployed black school teachers.[36]

In February of 1934 Forrester B. Washington was appointed director of Negro Work for the FERA and another relief agency, the Civil Works Administration (CWA). This did not result in increased funding for the DUL, but perhaps having a former director of the DUL as an official of a major relief agency did contribute to keeping discrimination in regard to relief at a low level in Detroit. In reality, Washington's influence may not have been needed. Dancy maintained throughout the Depression that there was little or no discrimination against Detroit blacks in direct relief. In fact, by the spring of 1934, some white leaders in the Detroit area were suggesting that blacks be returned to the South to take pressure off the relief rolls in Michigan, which indicates that blacks in Detroit may have been receiving more than their share of the dole.[37]

By April of 1934 employment in Detroit had increased 134 percent over its lowest point, but blacks still comprised twenty eight percent of those on direct relief. This situation prompted Dancy to make the famous statement, "...The Negro is the last to be hired and the first to be fired."[38] Dancy may not have been the first to use this phrase, but he claimed credit for popularizing it. Before 1935 blacks in Detroit generally did not benefit from work relief programs. The FERA provided funding to states for the establishment of work relief programs, and it was at the state or county level where decisions were made regarding blacks. For a brief period in the winter of 1933 and the early spring of 1934, millions of people were employed directly by the federal government in work relief projects conducted by the Civil Works Administration (CWA). The CWA lasted only a few months, but tended to hire more blacks than previous work relief programs. In the spring of 1934 CWA projects in the Detroit area were turned back over to the CERA (the county branch of the FERA), which not only continued to employ blacks but increased their number. The CERA employed over twenty thousand people, approximately twenty-five percent of whom were black. The CWA was responsible for decreasing racial discrimination in work relief in the Detroit area, albeit in a somewhat incidental manner.[39]

Before the establishment of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the NUL was harsh in its criticism of New Deal relief programs. In an

article published in *Opportunity*, T. Arnold Hill stated that due to the policies of the work relief programs the employment opportunities they offered for black professionals were indeed distressing. According to Hill, it was practically impossible for black professionals to find employment in the private sector and rarely were they employed by the works division of the FERA or by the CWA. A few whites were employed as professionals by these agencies, but even they were often employed outside their fields. New federal guidelines had just been released, but Hill feared they would do nothing to alter the situation. The new guidelines stated that municipal and state governments must provide for "unemployables." Since black teachers, engineers, architects and so forth were not likely to be placed in their fields, Hill suspected that racists would simply categorize them as "unemployable" and place them on the dole.[40] This prospect outraged Hill and he expected the worst.

The new agency proposed by FDR in January of 1935 became known as the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Harry Hopkins was placed in charge of this agency, whose job it was to employ as many people as possible; the aim was not to prime the pump but simply to get people off the dole. Most importantly, Hopkins was a crusader against racial discrimination. Divisions of the WPA such as the Federal Writers Project and the Federal Theatre Project created positions and outlets for many black professionals. Some WPA jobs consisted of "make work" projects, but others provided vital services and cultural enhancement to the community.[41]

Dancy made few comments regarding work relief agencies and programs. As mentioned earlier, he did discuss relief in general, saying that blacks in Detroit were not discriminated against in direct relief but that there was discrimination in hiring. Dancy's silence in this regard is indeed strange. According to Harvard Sitkoff, the WPA was a "godsend" for blacks. Nationwide, many thousands of blacks were employed by the WPA in all manner of positions and the WPA was the third largest employer of blacks after domestic service and agriculture. Therefore, one would expect Dancy to commend the WPA for its work in the Detroit area or at least to discuss it. The only clear references to the WPA in Detroit that are found in the DUL papers are job requests funneled through Dancy. For example, a Mr. Cathcart wrote to Dancy on February 4, 1936, seeking a position in social work and asking for Dancy's assistance. Dancy replied that all such inquiries should be sent directly to the WPA rather than to him. Furthermore, he indicated that the odds on obtaining such a position were extremely poor.[42]

The WPA and the PWA were both highly significant to the black community, so much so that one would expect to find a wealth of material concerning them in the DUL papers. There is little comment by Dancy on

these agencies either praising or criticising them. Perhaps Dancy believed that the PWA and WPA had been praised thoroughly enough by others and he had no criticism worth mentioning. This still does not explain the conspicuous absence of data on the DUL and its relationship with the PWA and WPA in Detroit, and may actually be quite significant in itself.[43]

The New Deal brought about a drastic change in the status of organized labor in America. The relationship between black workers and organized labor had always been strained at best. Many unions were blatantly racist and often the only industrial work that black workers could get was as strikebreakers. The National Urban League was painfully aware of this fact, and a black labor program that it put forth in 1934 contained the following statement:

> For sixty-eight years the Negro worker has been appealing to American labor for a "new deal" in its treatment of black labor...these efforts have met either with limited half-hearted success or with dismal failure; the only exceptions being in those fields where Negro workers... banded together to demand the rights and to exercise the powers that were theirs...[44]

Neither Dancy nor the national office of the Urban League were under any delusions concerning blacks and organized labor. In fact, Dancy went so far as to claim that black workers in Detroit received better treatment from management than from the unions. Dancy pointed out that the Ford Rouge plant had employed blacks for years (the only auto plant to do so), and by so doing had done more to combat racist stereotypes (black workers as too inefficient and lazy for industrial work) and to promote the cause of black workers than any union.[45] The Ford Rouge plant was of course the exception and not the rule. In other parts of the country, especially in the South, if black workers were hired by industrial firms at all, they were often paid lower wages than white workers. In such cases, if black workers demanded equal pay for equal work or started to discuss organizing a union of their own, management would threaten to fire them if they did not remain complacent.[46]

Black workers suffered from abuse by both management and organized labor. Management often used black workers to depress wages and to break strikes of white workers. Yet when black workers sought to join white workers in a common cause, they were rebuffed as well. In 1934 and 1935 labor legislation was proposed that would completely change the nature of labor-management relations. The NUL leadership was afraid that

if unions gained new power as a result of the pending legislation, they would use that power to entirely exclude blacks from the work place.

T. Arnold Hill was particularly concerned with the proposed Wagner "Labor Disputes Act" of 1934. According to Hill this bill, if passed, would lay the basis for the development of closed shop industries.[47] This could spell disaster for the black worker. Since blacks were excluded from many unions they could only work as strike-breakers in an organized shop, and under the proposed legislation strikebreakers had no rights. The NUL launched a campaign to add an anti-discrimination clause as an amendment to the bill. Dancy and other directors of Urban League locals joined in this national lobbying effort. The Urban League worked with the NAACP in fighting for an amendment to this Wagner bill that would deny the benefits of the legislation to any union that practiced racial discrimination. Elmer Carter was sent to Washington as the Urban Leagues' main lobbyist. T. Arnold Hill along with others prepared a statement for the Senate Committee on Labor and Education which summarized the objections of the black leadership to the unamended bill. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was the major force against the insertion of an anti-discrimination clause. The original bill as drafted by Senator Wagner did contain a clause which outlawed closed shops if restrictions were placed on the membership of a given union. It was the AFL that forced Wagner to eliminate this clause from the bill.

In addition to black leaders, conservatives opposed the "Labor Disputes Act" and it failed to pass. However, the struggle continued and the AFL eventually won the battle. White labor consolidated its support and in 1935 the National Labor Relations Act passed and was signed by FDR without the proposed Urban League--NAACP amendment.[48] The AFL refused to budge and black organizations simply did not have the finances or the political clout to defeat such a powerful lobby. The result of the Wagner Act, true to black fears, was that black workers were closed out of certain industries for years to come.

Dancy and the DUL were also involved in other lobbying efforts concerning labor legislation. Beginning in 1933 a national drive in support of minimum wage legislation was conducted by the American Association of Social Workers (of which Dancy was a member). The NUL became involved in this drive, and on the local level Dancy supported the Michigan "Minimum Wage Bill for Women and Minors." However, there is no hard evidence suggesting what Dancy actually did to lobby for the bill. By June of 1934 the NUL was involved in organizing support for the Wagner-Lewis bill for state unemployment insurance.[49] The information in the DUL papers concerning labor legislation is extremely thin. The Fair Labor Standards Act was not passed until June of 1938, and Urban League lobbying efforts were not especially significant in its

passage. As Sitkoff argues in his study, blacks apparently could not organize effectively, gather the support of powerful legislators, or bring to bear enough resources to make a major impact on the New Deal. Blacks may have benefited from some of the labor legislation of the New Deal, but they were not responsible for bringing it about.[50]

Dancy was a conservative man in many respects and was not particularly fond of organized labor. In fact, although Dancy generally supported the policies of the NUL, there is little evidence of direct lobbying by Dancy in support of labor legislation, even though he received numerous requests from the NUL and other sources to do so. This does not mean that Dancy was anti-labor or even anti-union. In a 1934 statement Dancy indicated that he saw the basic interests of organized labor and black workers as one and the same. He maintained, however, that it was the responsibility of unions to recognize this fact and change their policies accordingly. Dancy proclaimed, "Organized labor has had a golden opportunity presented it to work for all workers but has neglected to take advantage of it, but organized labor will learn in due time that it cannot hope to be successful in its demands until it fights the battles of all laborers instead of the few."[51]

The realities of the Depression and the New Deal affected the political orientation of the black community of Detroit and, to a certain extent, Dancy and the DUL as well. According to Professor Sidney Fine in his study, *Frank Murphy and Detroit Years*, the political participation of blacks in Detroit in the 1930s was relatively low, but to the extent that they did participate, they were largely Republicans.[52] But a gradual swing of the black community from the Republican Party to the Democratic Party took place during the New Deal era. With the coming of the New Deal, far more assistance was given to the black community by the Democratic Party than by the Republican Party. Dancy was still closely tied to the Republicans as late as 1936. There was nevertheless an apparent tension in Dancy's thought. In June of 1936, Dancy was asked to serve on the Republican campaign committee, but no reply to this request is in the DUL papers.[53]

Ralph B. Stewart, a black physician, a member of the National Allied Republican council, and apparently an old friend of Dancy's, wrote to Dancy from Washington D.C. on July 22, 1936, asking for Dancy's explanation of the apparent shift of black support in Michigan away from the Republican Party and toward the Democrats and the New Deal. Stewart wanted to know if this political shift was as profound as it seemed, and if so, what could be done to stop it.[54] Dancy replied that blacks had received political jobs from the Democrats that Republicans would never have offered them. According to Dancy, blacks received more recognition and had more access to inner party circles with the Democrats than the

Republicans allowed. Furthermore, the New Deal had generally been beneficial to blacks in Detroit, and in fact, there was less discrimination and segregation in Detroit than in Washington D.C. On top of all this, Frank Murphy's (the mayor of Detroit) popularity in the black community was second only to that of Senator James Couzens. Dancy maintained that all of these factors combined explained why blacks were leaving the Republican Party in Michigan. Dancy pleaded with Stewart to keep his remarks confidential, "--for he [Dancy] is only political behind closed doors."[55] Dancy was quite aware that the Democrats were courting the black vote. In his view, this was not necessarily a bad trade off, at least in the case of Detroit.

As early as 1932, the National Urban League, and particularly T. Arnold Hill, recognized that political action on the part of blacks was necessary if the New Deal was to address black concerns. Along with this came a realization that Government rather than individual businessmen would be the source of assistance to blacks. Hill, as director of Industrial Relations and later as acting Executive Secretary of the NUL, took a more DuBoisian approach to black problems than the Urban League had done previously. It was DuBois' contention that economic interests could not be secured without political power. Hill clearly saw that political action, in the form of voting, lobbying, agitation and organization was vital if black interest in the New Deal was to be protected. This approach seems to have filtered down to Dancy and the DUL, since his programs did not differ substantially from those proposed by the national office. Generally, it appears that most action concerning the New Deal was initiated in the national office. Dancy carried out the directives of the national office as they pertained to Detroit.

On the issue of partisan politics, both Dancy and the NUL office were affected by the New Deal. The NUL office was critical of the New Deal until 1935. From that point on, especially with the work of the PWA and the WPA, the Urban League and black leadership in general could find little fault. There was far from enough aid, but there seemed to be far less racism involved in how that aid was administered than blacks had come to expect. This change in attitude toward the New Deal was partly responsible for drawing the Urban League toward the Democratic Party. The political shift in the Urban League is best understood as a reflection of a process taking place in the black community as a whole.

In Dancy's case, this move toward the Democrats involved a fair amount of mental turmoil. Dancy was at heart a conservative and appears to have been a committed Republican. The economic hardships of the Depression forced Dancy and the Urban League as a whole to look increasingly toward Government rather than to private business for support. This meant an expanding political orientation and a gradual shift

away from Washingtonian tactics and toward a more DuBoisian approach. Economic gains for the black community could not be won nor protected without political action by blacks themselves. Dancy found little to criticize in the Roosevelt administration and found himself a willing (although uncomfortable) part of the black community's tilt toward the Democratic Party.

NOTES

[1] Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal For Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue Volume I: The Depression Decade* (New York, 1978), 35.

[2] Nancy Weiss, *The National Urban League 1919-1940* (New York, 1974), 29-46; 46-48.

[3] Ibid., 47.

[4] Ibid., 29.

[5] Weiss, *Urban League*, 65; also Bradley H. Pollock, "The Thought of W.E.B. DuBois and the Dilemma of the Racial Dialectic" (unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Southern Louisiana, May, 1980), 15.

[6] Weiss, *Urban League*, 64-68.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Arvarh E. Strickland, *History of the Chicago Urban League* (Urbana, Illinois, 1966), 21.

[9] Report by John C. Dancy on the history of the DUL and an autobiographical brief. 2-27 March 1930, file [1-30] and 1933, Detroit Urban League Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Hereafter cited as DUL Papers.

[10] Letter from John C. Dancy to Glen Carlson, October-December 1929, file [1-29], Directors' General file, DUL Papers.

[11] Sitkoff, *Deal for Blacks*, 170.

[12] Special Bulletin from H.N. Robinson, Director of the Chicago Urban League to all UL branches, 25 November 1929, file [1-29], DUL Papers.

[13] Release from the office of T. Arnold Hill, "Efforts to Displace Negroes Continue," 6 February 1932; also a report entitled, "How The Crisis Hit Auto Workers," February 1932, file [2-18], Directors' General File, DUL Papers.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., Letter from Dancy to Walter White, 9 March 1932, file [2-19], DUL Papers.

[16] Letter from Dancy to Dr. Olson of the University of Michigan Hospital, 21 November 1929, file [1-29], DUL Papers.

[17] Letter from Dancy to Walter White, 9 March 1932, file [2-19], DUL Papers.

[18] John C. Dancy, *Sand Against The Wind*. (Detroit, Michigan, 1966). This is the general tone of the whole autobiography and is reflected in the nature of Dancy's own life.

[19] Letter from Chester M. Calver to John C. Dancy, 1 March 1933, file [2-27], DUL Papers.

[20] Letter from John Dancy to Forrester B. Washington, January 1933, file [2-25], DUL Papers.

[21] Letter from John Dancy to Eugene Kinckle Jones of the National Urban League, 2 March 1933, file [2-27], DUL Papers.

[22] Ibid., Also Letter from John C. Dancy to Mrs. Lois Weldon, 1 March 1933, file [2-27], DUL Papers.

[23] Letter to Dancy from T. Arnold Hill, 24 March 1933, file [2-27], DUL Papers.

[24] Release by T. Arnold Hill from the NUL office to all Urban League branches, 12 August 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-33], DUL Papers.

[25] Ibid.

[26] William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal 1932-1940* (New York, 1963), 64-71.

[27] Sitkoff, *Deal For Blacks*, 54-56.

[28] Release by T. Arnold Hill from the NUL office to all Urban League branches, 12 August 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-33], DUL Papers.

[29] Immediate release from the office of T. Arnold Hill to all Urban League branches, 2 September 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-33], DUL Papers.

[30] Speech by John C. Dancy, "The Negro in the Recovery Program," July 1933, Directors' General File, file [3-8], DUL Papers.

[31] Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 52-70; Sitkoff, *Deal For Blacks*, 67-69.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 174. And Paul K. Conkin, *FDR and the Origin of the Welfare State* (New York, 1967), 47.

[34] Memo from the NUL office to all Urban League branches, 14 October 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-34], DUL Papers.

[35] Immediate release from the NUL office to all Urban League branches, November 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-35] DUL Papers. Note: Dancy must have received funding somewhere because he did carry out a transient program.

[36] Letter to Dancy from the Detroit Board of Ed., 5 December 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-36], DUL Papers.

[37] Dancy, "The Negro on the Recovery Program," 3.

[38] Ibid. Note: Dancy infers that he coined this phrase. To this author's knowledge this is incorrect and is an exaggeration on Dancy's part or perhaps just unclear wording.

[39] From Dancy's report on black employment in Detroit for June 1934, June 1934, Directors' General File, file [3-8], DUL Papers, 2.

[40] T. Arnold Hill, "Uncle Sam's Payroll," *Opportunity*, February 1935, 54.

[41] Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt*, 124-130.

[42] Sitkoff, *Deal for Blacks*, 70. And a letter from Dancy to a Mr. Cathcart, 4 February 1936, Directors' General File, file [3-22], DUL Papers.

[43] There are next to no comments by Dancy concerning the PWA and WPA in the DUL Papers or in *Sand Against the Wind*. If such material exists, it must be in sources of which this author is not aware.

[44] From a National Urban League Labor Program Document, 1934, Directors' General File, file [3-6], DUL Papers.

[45] Dancy, "The Negro in the Recovery Program," 4.

[46] A note of intimidation from Scripto Manufacturing Co. to its black employees, 2 Sept. 1933, Directors' General File, file [2-33] DUL Papers, 2.

[47] Letter from T. Arnold Hill to John C. Dancy, April 1934, Directors' General File, file [3-5], DUL Papers.

[48] Sitkoff, *Deal for Blacks*, 52.

[49] Letter from the chairman of the Urban League Social Legislation Committee to Dancy, June 1934, Directors' General File, file [3-7], DUL Papers.

[50] Sitkoff, *Deal for Blacks*. The central thesis Sitkoff argues throughout his book is that the black community did not have enough organized political or

economic power to influence the New Deal to its benefit. However, blacks did benefit from the New Deal, psychologically as well as materially.

[51] Speech by Dancy, "The Negro in the Recovery Program," July 1933, Director's General File, file [3-8], DUL Papers.

[52] Sidney Fine, *Frank Murphy: the Detroit Years* (Ann Arbor, 1975), 99-100, 115, 180, 183-184.

[53] Letter from Dr. Sinclair Perry to John C. Dancy, 1 June 1936, Directors' General File, file [3-26], DUL Papers.

[54] Letter from Ralph B. Stewart to John C. Dancy, 22 July 1936, Directors' General File, file [3-27], DUL Papers.

[55] Letter from John C. Dancy to Ralph B. Stewart, 28 July 1936, Directors' General File, file [3-27], DUL Papers.

"Cocktail Picket Party"

The Hollywood *Citizen—News* Strike, The Newspaper Guild, and the Popularization of the "Democratic Front" in Los Angeles

Michael Furmanovsky

The ten-week strike of Hollywood *Citizen-News* editorial workers in the spring and summer of 1938 left an indelible mark on the history of Los Angeles labor. Almost unmatched in the city's history for the large size and glamorous composition of its picket lines, the strike's transformation into a local "cause célèbre" owed much to the input of the Communist Party of Los Angeles (CPLA) and its widely diffused allies. While the Communists were not responsible for calling the walkout in May 1938, the subsequent development of the strike into a small-scale symbol of the potential inherent in liberal-labor-left unity was largely attributable to the CPLA's carefully planned strategy, which attempted to fulfill the goals set by the American Communist Party during the "Democratic Front" period (1938-39); namely, to mobilize the broadest possible network of pro-Roosevelt groups and individuals, integrated with the full complement of Party-led organizations. These would range during the *Citizen-News* strike from CIO unions and liberal assemblymen, to fellow-travelling Hollywood celebrities and Communist affiliated anti-fascist organizations.[1]

The Hollywood *Citizen-News* strike was far from an unqualified success either for the strikers or for the broader political movement envisaged by the Communist Party in 1938-39, nevertheless it became a rallying point for those on the Communist and non-Communist left who looked to the New Deal and the CIO as the twin vehicles for a real political transformation and realignment in the United States. The nationwide "democratic

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front'' coalition of New Deal Democrats, trade unions, farmers, anti-fascists, and enlightened middle-class elements proposed by the American Communist Party in March 1938, represented a broadening of the earlier ''popular front'' promulgated by the Communist International in 1935 as a response to the consolidation of fascism in Germany. The shift in emphasis also represented a recognition by the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA) that it was ''not yet possible to organize this broad mass movement into a new party.'' The more loosely structured democratic front was to be directed at three principal targets: first the growing domestic fascist movement represented by the ''Radio Priest'' Father Coughlin, the Silver Shirts, and the Nazi American Bund; second, the isolationist movement based primarily in the mid-western agricultural states; and third, the anti-Communist and implicitly anti-New Deal Special Committee on Un-American Activities, formed in Congress by the conservative Texas Democrat Martin Dies. Once these groups were defeated or neutralized, argued Clarence Hathaway of the Communist *Daily Worker*, ''the obstacles that stand in the way of the People's Front, of a Farmer Labor Party,'' would be broken down.[2]

While the democratic front, as defined by the CPUSA, was never fully realized anywhere in the United States, broad-based coalitions, including public and non-public Communists, did meet with considerable success in several mid-western and western states, among them California. Emerging from the ruins of Upton Sinclair's ''End Poverty in California'' (EPIC) movement, the coalition achieved little in Los Angeles until the Communist Party, during the first years of the popular front (1935-1936), moved to discard its earlier sectarianism and dogmatism. During these transitory years, the Party found support in the mainstream of the American manufacturing industry, playing a major role in the organization of the first CIO unions in the city. Outside of heavy industry and maritime trades, its main concerns were the unemployed, the fragile agricultural unions, the WPA projects, and the newly-formed motion picture studio unions. These priorities and limited resources, however, precluded Party involvement in the organization of white collar and professional unions such as the Newspaper Guild, a craft union of newspaper editorial workers that emerged, after several false starts, in 1936.[3]

Working conditions and wages in Los Angeles' newspaper industry during the early years of the Depression were among the worst in the country. In addition to repeated layoffs, the Depression led publishers to institute several wage cuts for both white collar editorial, and blue collar typographical workers. In 1933, white collar reporters on the two local Hearst papers received three successive ten percent cuts. Blue collar unionized typographical employees, however, kept their reduction to only seven and a half percent, with those laid off receiving a week's pay for every six

months of service on the paper. On the Los Angeles *Record*, a number of experienced reporters, earning fifty to sixty dollars weekly, were fired and replaced by college students who were subsequently paid ten to fifteen dollars. Those remaining found themselves borrowing money towards payday from their blue collar colleagues--a sobering experience.[4]

Despite such desperate conditions, no serious attempt was made to form a local branch of the small New York-based American Newspaper Guild (ANG) until September 1936. Initial meetings of what became the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild (LANG) were held in the offices of the *United Progressive News*, a small radical offshoot of the EPIC movement, whose headquarters had become a meeting place for a variety of radicals, liberals, utopians, and political nonconformists. Groundwork for the practical organization of the union was laid by Bill Kaddish, a free-lance reporter associated with the *United Progressive News*, and Roger Johnson, a young employee of the liberal *Hollywood Citizen-News*, who became the Guild's first president. Secrecy during the early organization of the union was essential, according to Johnson, "because the Wagner Labor Relations Act . . . had not been tested. If we were to be fired for union activity it was not certain the federal law would afford protection."[5]

The early membership of the LANG was concentrated in the *Daily News* and *Evening News* (both owned by publisher Manchester Boddy), the *Hollywood Citizen-News*, the *United Progressive News*, and the WPA Writers Project. Its leading figures were liberal and left-wing Democrats, committed to unionism and to Roosevelt's 'second' New Deal.[6] Emerging publicly in October 1936, the union adopted a policy of withholding the names of any Hearst and Chandler (*Los Angeles Time*) employees recruited; both publishers having openly opposed and red-baited the American Newspaper Guild since its formation in 1933.[7] For its part, the ANG was reluctant to issue a charter to the LANG, fearing the power of the city's open shop tradition, and perhaps expecting the fragile union to collapse, as had earlier attempts in 1931 and 1935.[8] In late October, however, the liberal publisher of the *Citizen-News*, Judge Harlan Palmer, gave permission to Johnson, a personal friend, to broadcast from his office desk, a statement on the aims of the union, over radio station KMTR. A week later the Guild issued a two-page mimeographed paper, the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild *News*, giving details of a meeting held with Howard Hill of the Northern California Guild, and Kenneth Thompson, president of the newly-formed Screen Actors' Guild.[9]

By December the Guild had signed up almost one hundred new members. It was probably this strength that prompted four of the city's five metropolitan dailies to announce pay increases for editorial workers. Although the increases included certain provisions designed to create dissension and competition by restricting raises to those with "five years

experience on Los Angeles Metropolitan dailies," the Guild continued to grow and on January 9, 1937, Johnson accepted a charter from ANG president Heywood Broun.[10] Shortly thereafter Judge Palmer, following the lead of the Hearst and Boddy papers, agreed to meet with LANG representatives, and after expressing some sympathy with the union's grievances, announced wage increases of twenty to thirty percent.[11] Wages at the *Citizen-News* continued to lag behind those of the larger dailies, but this was attributed to the smaller circulation of the paper, which primarily catered to Hollywood's educated and liberal elite and generally shunned sensationalism.

Known as a "liberal" for his support of the New Deal, Palmer was in fact more of a traditional "Progressive" or "reformer," concerned above all with clean and efficient government. In 1911, while still a young man, he purchased the weekly *Hollywood Citizen*. Four years later he was elected a Justice of the Peace, a position he held until 1921 when his paper became a daily. In the early years of the Depression Palmer merged his paper with the *Hollywood News* to form the Hollywood *Citizen-News*, and, as editor, devoted many of his editorials to attacks on the corrupt city administration of Mayor Frank Shaw. The latter, he frequently asserted, gave protection to prostitution and gambling syndicates. The high moral tone of his editorials earned Palmer a reputation among his opponents as a "blue-nose" and "longhair," and in fact, he failed to win the approval of most liberal Democrats until his paper's general endorsement of the New Deal in 1936. In this year Palmer ran for district attorney and received the active support of the generally conservative "clean government" forces as well as a small number of liberals.[12] Following the primaries, however, he received additional organizational support from the EPIC movement, the Communist Party and certain left-wing trade unions, all of whom had good reason to oppose the reactionary anti-union incumbant Buron Fitts. While Fitts, with financial backing from the *Los Angeles Times*, was able to eventually defeat Palmer, the election did much to polarize the political landscape in Los Angeles and also helped elevate the *Citizen-News* editor to the position of a leading spokesman for the broad principles of the New Deal.[13]

Because the Guild expected few problems in future contract negotiations with Palmer, a decision was made in early 1937 to focus its growing strength on the two large Hearst papers in Los Angeles. This decision coincided with the new national policy of the ANG which increasingly identified Hearst as the arch enemy of newspaper unionism.[14] Early organization on Hearst's Los Angeles *Examiner* and *Herald and Express* occurred as the CIO's militant brand of industrial unionism, and the concurrent entrance of the Communist Party entered into leadership positions in several of the new unions. The Party was particularly successful in the

ANG, and by the middle of the year had obtained effective control of the seven thousand member union. With their strength in the large New York locals, the Communists and their allies were able to launch a successful campaign to withdraw from the AFL and affiliate with the CIO. The decision to join the CIO and to begin organization of non-editorial employees, both supported by president Heywood Broun and other non-Communist leftists, was taken by a vote of two to one at the ANG national convention in June 1937. Resolutions on the need for independent political action and support for loyalist Spain, both favored by the Communist Party, won by almost identical margins.[15]

For several months in early and mid-1937, LANG sent delegates to both AFL and CIO labor councils in Los Angeles. A growing feeling of alienation with the AFL's conservation gained momentum in March, when the AFL's machine-controlled Central Labor Council failed to support a CIO sitdown strike at the Douglas Aircraft plant, in which 342 strikers were arrested.[16] In addition, the Communist Party of Los Angeles, now active in the new CIO unions, began to take a greater interest in the Guild, and in the following months successfully recruited a number of key union officials and activists.[17] Although the Party group or "faction" in fact quietly supported president Johnson, he remained unaware of their growing influence. He continued, however, to hold at least formal control of the union, and in early 1937 played a major role in the secret and highly effective organization of Guild units on the two Hearst papers. By May 1937, when negotiations with the management of the *Herald* began, the Guild had secured an impressive one hundred percent organization of the paper's editorial employees. Negotiations were then suspended for two months while the ANG's executive board deliberated on a national policy for the entire Hearst press. However, following the convention decision to affiliate with the CIO and begin organization on industrial union lines, local units of the international were instructed to immediately sign up circulation, commercial and other non-editorial workers.[18] Before negotiations with the *Herald* could resume, LANG, on instructions from AFL president William Green, was formally suspended from the city's Central Labor Council.[19]

Impressed with the growing determination and militancy of the Los Angeles local, and conscious of the role of the *Herald* as the largest circulation paper in the West, the ANG executive board instructed its experienced west coast director, Morgan Hull, to coordinate Guild negotiations with management.[20] Hull, a former Los Angeles journalist, had been fired from the Los Angeles *Record* in 1933. A year later he joined the Communist Party and became an organizer for the young ANG. In 1937 he was assigned to coordinate tactics in the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* strike, the first newspaper strike in the West. Hull's influence in the

Herald negotiations, combined with his undoubted personal charisma and the intransigence of management, were important factors in radicalizing the paper's employees and other Guild activists. The most prominent of these was Philip "Slim" Connelly, generally regarded as the most promising rewrite man in the city. An imposing six feet two inches tall and three hundred pounds, Connelly was a practising Catholic who had been known to disparage radicals and unions while covering strikes for the paper. Although he subsequently became active in the organization of the *Herald* unit, Connelly strongly opposed affiliation with the CIO when it was first proposed in 1937. Later in the year, however, he underwent something of a political transformation, and in January 1938 he was elected president of the Guild. Sometime during this period, he was recruited by Hull into the Communist Party, emerging in mid-1938 as a leading spokesman for the CIO and the democratic front.[21]

Hull was aided in the lengthy negotiations with the *Herald* by a relatively experienced group of Guild members, and by the union's unpaid attorney, Carey McWilliams, a non-Communist supporter of the democratic front. A compromise agreement was finally reached on November 8, 1937, granting wage increases, a guaranteed five-day, forty-hour week, dismissal indemnity for employees with six months service, and a minimum salary of $25 a week.[22] Celebrations were tempered, however, by the news of a contract signed between the management of Hearst's *Examiner* and a new rival "AFL" union organized by Central Labor Council secretary, J. W. Buzzell. Buzzell, an old line AFL leader with a passionate hatred for the CIO, the Communist Party, and all those espousing industrial unionism, had organized the so-called American Federation of Newswriters and Reporters, Local 1, with the open support of the management. The AFL union, according to the LANG, had ordered *Examiner* employees to join the union or risk forfeiting their jobs. Largely because the management had made clear its unwillingness to recognize the Guild, Buzzell was able to persuade sufficient numbers of the paper's ninety employees to join what was virtually a company union, and to gain temporary certification of the union, despite the fact the LANG had, in September, claimed ninety percent affiliation to the Guild.[23]

Buzzell's calculated attempt to split the LANG ultimately backfired, for as the Guild accurately pointed out, the AFL had never before shown any interest in newspaper workers. Buzzell's maneuver, according to Roger Johnson, "demonstrated to Guildsmen elsewhere that their strength lay with the Guild" and that the LANG clearly belonged in the CIO.[24] For the small but influential Communist unit in the Guild, the *Examiner* and *Herald* negotiations had also demonstrated the possibility of moving the rank and file of the Guild into the larger coalition of left-led liberals and

reformers which the Party now hoped would become the basis for a mass anti-fascist, labor oriented bloc within the state Democratic Party.

Like many new Communist recruits during this period, the Communists in the LANG faction consisted primarily of trade unionists who would never have considered joining the Party in an earlier era. For them the Party was simply the most militant and dedicated force in the fight for industrial unionism and against the city's powerful open shop organization. Thus, for example, Urcel Daniel, secretary of the Guild, joined the Party in mid-1937 because "it seemed to me that they were the hardest working members of unions, and at the time... they seemed to be the only ones who were doing anything to improve the conditions of people who were suffering from the Depression."[25]

These new recruits differed too from most of the pre-popular front Communists in their social and ethnic backgrounds. Where many of the latter were first or second generation East European Jews, often with little higher education, the Communist unit of the LANG was made up of American born men and women from Protestant or Catholic backgrounds, several of them college educated, and possessing unaltered names such as Smith, Cullen, O'Connor and Killoran. Tom O'Connor, later a Guild president, was born in Idaho, moving to the retirement community of Long Beach with his family in the 1920s. An outstanding student, he graduated from Harvard, returning to Los Angeles in the middle of the Depression to work on the *Daily News*, one of two moderate-to-liberal papers owned by Manchester Boddy. In 1937 O'Connor became chairman of the *Daily News* unit of the LANG and a member of the Communist Party.[26] By the end of the year four other important editorial employees on the paper had joined both the Guild and the Party. According to Urcel Daniel, testifying in 1952 before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the process of recruitment did not involve Party functionaries, but "was done by people who worked with other people . . . Most of those *Daily News* people were probably recruited by others on the *Daily News*."[27]

During the McCarthy years, four former Communist Guild members agreed to testify as friendly witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Yet despite their eager profession of anti-Communist credentials and willingness to name names, all denied that the Communist unit of the Guild pursued objectives at odds with the non-Communist membership. Indeed, the consensus was that the aims of the Communists in the union during the popular front period (1935-39) were essentially identical with those of the CIO. It was pointed out that most members of the Guild were unaware of the Communist affiliation of much of their leadership and if they did suspect the latter, this was only because the leftists demonstrated the well-known Communist proclivity to perform

routine work, to endure endless rounds of committee meetings, and to advocate support for Labor's Non Partisan League and Loyalist Spain. In addition, the left-wing Guild members, personified by the brilliant tactician and organizer "Slim" Connelly, exhibited an earthy, undeferential aggressiveness in negotiations with management that marked them off from earlier union leaders.[28]

During the brief but climactic period of the democratic front (May 1938-August 1939), the blurring of the line between Communists and sympathetic Liberals was such the Party members themselves were sometimes unaware of the membership of their own "comrades." Despite the Party's attempt to project the image of an open organization, its very success in the trade union movement and in other "mass" organizations sometimes necessitated even more secrecy than was the case in the pre-democratic front period. Thus, for example, the official Communist Party paper, the *Western Worker*, which was published until 1937, frequently reported on Party affairs and published biographies of Communist electoral candidates who were not always functionaries. By contrast, its successor, the democratic front-labor oriented *People's World*, rarely discussed or reported internal matters, except major conventions, and attempted to maintain an even stricter separation between the Party and Party-led or "front" organizations.

This practice of secrecy, which developed over three years, seemed logical and indeed essential in 1938; for the Party, while increasingly influential in the CIO and many other organizations, had nevertheless failed during the Popular Front to alter the long standing and still powerful public antipathy towards "Communism" as an alien and un-American ideology. During the "Red Scare", provoked by the Nazi-Soviet pact, the CPUSA's inability to conquer the Communist stereotype would prove extremely costly as anti-Communist seized the opportunity to "expose" the Party's secret influence in a variety of unions and political organizations.[29]

In 1936, a year before the emergence of the Los Angeles Communist Party as a significant factor within organized labor, the AFL had placed Judge Harlan Palmer on its unfair list for fostering a company union in his mechanical department.[30] Despite this, and a brief attempt to persuade Johnson and others to form a similar management sponsored editorial union, his overall political record and his personal treatment of his employees gave the Guild cause for cautious optimism when serious negotiations for a union contract were initiated in December 1937. This optimism was apparently shared by the Communist Party which made no mention of Palmer's company union in its press, perhaps considering his liberal and antifascist credentials sufficient to warrant a conciliatory approach.[31]

Negotiations with Palmer were initiated by a group of four (non-*Citizen-News*) LANG officials and eleven union observers. Although all four were in fact secret members or strong sympathizers of the Communist Party, they were seen by most Guild members as simply left-wing union activists. No objections to them were raised by the almost entirely non-Communist Guild unit of the paper.[32] Dragging on for almost six months, the negotiations marked the beginning of the political transformation of Palmer from liberal democrat to anti-New Deal conservative. The impetus for this change was the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) citation of the publisher for fostering a company union. Following the citation Palmer engaged Willis Sargent, a well-known anti-union attorney, to plead his case at the Board's hearings in Washington, and to negotiate with the LANG.

Despite an alleged secret contract with advertisers to double their advertising in the event of "labor trouble," and a report by Palmer to the California Publishers' Association on how best to counteract the NLRB,[33] Palmer's opposition to any unionism in his own paper had become abundantly clear to the Guild and interested observers by March 1938, when the publisher turned over all negotiations to his attorney. On April 4, 1938, the *United Progressive News* reported rumors of an impending strike at the *Citizen-News*. It also pointed out that the paper was now the only completely open shop daily in the city besides the ultra conservative *Los Angeles Times*, and went on to list the Guild's demands. These included wages equal to other major dailies, a five-day week, and either a closed shop or unqualified severance pay for discharge. Palmer's position, that this might force him to reorganize all departments and reduce his work force, was not made public, presumably because he still had hopes of reaching an outwardly amicable agreement with the Guild that would preserve his liberal image and status.[34]

Citizen-News Guild members were further radicalized by NLRB hearings held in early 1938 to determine the fate of Dolph Winebrenner, a prominent reporter and leftist on the *Daily News*, who had been fired by Manchester Boddy for attempting to organize the paper's commercial employees. Initial rejection of charges of unfair dismissal on the part of Dr. Towne Nylander, regional director of NLRB, were denounced and later appealed by the LANG, and at subsequent hearings, William Walsh, a NLRB attorney, stated that the Boddy papers, despite their apparent acceptance of the Guild, were in fact preparing a campaign to destroy it.[35] In spite of the growing mistrust fostered by the hearings, and reinforced by anti-NLRB editorials in the *Citizen-News*, a compromise between the Guild and the paper was eventually reached on May 13, subject to ratification by the employees, the union's executive committee and the ANG leadership. The agreement, in addition to higher wages, provided for

recognition of the Guild, a preferential shop, a five-day, forty-hour week, and twenty-six weeks severance pay.[36]

The Guild unit had generally discounted Palmer's threats of layoffs as part of the bargaining process. Thus, their reaction was one of both horror and surprise when Palmer announced his decision, immediately after ratification, to fire three editorial and two advertising employees. That the three editorial employees, Roger Johnson, Mel Scott, and Elizabeth Yeaman, were also among the most active in the Guild, was clearly no coincidence and demonstrated Palmer's underlying opposition to LANG and indeed to the unionization of his employees, professional or otherwise.[37]

Palmer's adamant refusal to reconsider his decision, on the grounds of the "publisher's right to dismissals," was a revelation to many Guild members long accustomed to thinking of him as a "liberal," and therefore by definition at least tolerant of unionism. Several of the paper's employees had established personal relationships with the publisher, perhaps the closest being Roger Johnson, who had once accepted a loan from Palmer and more recently had purchased stock in the *Citizen-News*. Most importantly, the paper had always been more than just a job for its editorial employees, functioning as it did, as an oasis of reason and taste in Los Angeles' cultural and political desert.[38] To avoid a strike, appeals were made to Palmer's closest friends and supporters such as the popular county supervisor John Anson Ford, writer and humorist Frank Scully, and Screen Actors' Guild president Robert Montgomery. A final futile appeal was made to the NLRB, but by the end of the weekend opinions had so hardened that the strike vote taken on May 14 proved virtually unanimous.

Although the immediate issues had become relatively clear cut for the Guild unit, the decision to begin picketing on May 17 was complicated by city politics. The *Citizen-News* had been, from the beginning, an outspoken supporter of the mayoral recall campaign launched by the self-styled Citizens Independent Vice Investigating Committee (CIVIC). The latter, made up primarily of middle-class reformers and church groups under the leadership of wealthy restauranteur Clifford Clinton, had, early in 1938, joined with several labor and liberal organizations to form the Federation for Civil Betterment (FCB).[39]

The recall campaign was given considerable impetus by the dramatic murder trial of the police department's "Intelligence Squad" leader, Captain Earl Kynette. Kynette was accused and later convicted of the attempted murder of an investigator hired by CIVIC to uncover the connection between the city administration and the underworld. The trial, held during the spring of 1938, confirmed the veracity of many of the accusations of corruption hurled by liberals, reformers, and radicals at

Mayor Shaw and his associates, while also catapulting the recall forces to a new level of political respectability and credibility. For the democratic front elements in the FCB, the principal objective of the campaign, in addition to the recall of Shaw, was the ouster of the violently anti-CIO police chief, James Davis. This, in turn, would almost certainly result in the abolition of the "Red Squad," led since the early 1920s by Lieutenant "Red" Hynes. The Red Squad, a long established branch of the police department, had for fifteen years used open violence and intimidation in its campaigns against alleged "subversives." These now ranged, in its view, from the broad-based FCB to the Communist Party itself, both groups containing at all times at least one police informant.[40]

The possibility of the removal or defection of Palmer and the *Citizen-News* from the recall campaign was admitted by the Communist Party in its reaction to the impending conflict. "The strike," it pointed out in its paper, "has its political repercussion as publisher Harlan Palmer is one of the leading spirits in the movement to recall Mayor Frank Shaw."[41] The paper's rivals had long been irritated by the political defiance of the *Citizen-News* and were willing to help prolong the strike.[42] Aware of these political repercussions, the *Citizen-News* strikers and their supporters did not allow them to detract from the central cause and issue of the strike--Palmer's refusal to accept an independent or non-company union in his paper, as demonstrated by his dismissals of three CIO Guild activists.

The ten-week Hollywood *Citizen-News* strike brought to fruition many of the strategies and tactics developed in the previous two years by the CIO, the Communist Party and their allies. Although Roger Johnson and Elizabeth Yeaman, both non-Communists, were responsible for the initial contacts with the Hollywood celebrities who were to make the strike a nationally known event, it was the Communist Party branch in Hollywood that provided the long-term support from its forces in the Screen Actors' and Screen Writer's Guilds. The active participation on the picket line of well-known Hollywood figures, as well as state assemblymen, national and state CIO leaders, Spanish Civil War veterans, antifascist groups, Young Democrats and thousands of sympathizers, would not have been possible without the feverish and unceasing activity of non-public Communist Party members working in several political, cultural, and professional organizations and trade unions. These ranged from "Slim" Connelly, who was president of the Guild, to the foot soldiers of the American League for Peace and Democracy. The latter, a broad-based Communist led organization, distributed strike papers to passersby on Hollywood Boulevard and added their considerable vocal power and enthusiasm to the ranks of picketers. Thus, for the first time in Los Angeles, the Communist Party was able to mobilize its elaborate network

of members and sympathizers in a single struggle. By so doing they helped transform a unique but essentially minor strike into an a cause célèbre by which the basic principles of the "democratic front" were presented to the widest possible audience.[43]

Until the strike was actually underway, the *People's World* had given only cautious and limited attention to Guild activities. It now began detailed and hard hitting coverage, regularly denouncing what it considered to be Palmer's hypocrisy and intransigence. For Roger Johnson, the extent and detail of this coverage, which closely paralleled that of the Guild's own *Hollywood Citizen-News Striker*, confirmed his suspicion that several leading Guild members were secret Communist Party members.[44] Attempts at red-baiting, however, were firmly opposed by the entire Guild, and formal support from open functionaries of the Communist Party was later accepted by the strikers. At the same time, the Communist Party, in line with its new policy of coalition politics and labor unity, sought through its trade union membership to win support for the strike from AFL unions. Unable to break through the bitter antagonisms between the CIO and AFL, the Party was encouraged by discussions held between the Guild and Local 174 of the International Typographical Union (AFL), the latter having long opposed the company union in the *Citizen-News* mechanical shop. Although the Typographical Union was ignored by the printers in the company union, it did succeed in persuading the theatrical daily, *Variety*, to withdraw its printing from the *Citizen-News* composing room. Further support came from assemblyman Jack Tenney's large left-led AFL Musicians' union and the rank and file of the Carpenters' union. Thus, while the hope of strong support from the AFL proved illusory, the appeal for labor unity demonstrated to some the reasonableness and potential of the Communist Party's democratic front platform.[45]

The appearance on the picket line of Hollywood writers, actors and directors such as Dorothy Parker, Marie Wilson, Frank Capra, John Ford, Ring Lardner Jr., Philip Dunne, Lionel Stander and others, not only gave some national publicity to the strike, but also precluded the possibility of Red Squad attacks on the strikers. Indeed, for the first time in many years, "Red" Hynes and his men were to find themselves virtually impotent in the face of hundreds of middle-class picketers. Confronted with what often seemed like a sidewalk party. Hynes was reduced to the occasional arrest, each of which was turned into a major event by the Guild's strike paper and the *People's World*.[46]

Within the first few days of the strike the Guild had established its basic organizational priorities. The most important of these, from a morale building and publicity point of view, was the strike paper. Ranging in size from two to four pages, and appearing once or twice weekly, the paper

allowed the strikers to propagate their views while continuing to exercise their job skills. Circulation of the *Hollywood Citizen-News Striker* averaged about ten thousand and soon became mandatory reading for many Hollywood liberals. In addition to reporting news and opinions of the strike, the paper became a mouthpiece for the CIO-Liberal-Left coalition, carrying notices of meetings of leftist groups such as the League of Women Shoppers, or greetings and pledges of support from other CIO and occasionally AFL unions. Supplementing the paper were a series of radio programs arranged by Mel Scott, in which several celebrities and political figures were invited to explain why and how they were supporting the strike.[47] A more painful but equally important priority was to reduce the circulation and advertising revenue of the *Citizen-News* itself, and thus place additional economic pressure on Palmer. Expressing a certain ambivalence over tactics designed to damage the paper, Roger Johnson, speaking for many of the strikers, admitted that many of them had "worked for the Judge as though it were our own paper." Now, however, it was necessary to put equal effort into the strike and to take advantage of the unexpected outpouring of public support.[48]

While aware of the political contradictions inherent in the strike, in particular the inevitable damage to a liberal New Deal paper, the Guild at no time dissented from the view expressed by radicals, both inside and outside the union, that the picket line and later secondary boycott were crucial to ultimate success. While both agreed that a victory would require unqualified reinstatement of the strikers and a new contract, the Communists and their supporters saw the potential for much greater gains. This wider view of the strike was cogently expressed by "Slim" Connelly in an interview with Frank Scully, an important celebrity figure on the picket line. The conflict, Connelly claimed, had "become greater and wider than just a strike on the Hollywood *Citizen-News* by a number of editorial employees. We have become the spearhead of a movement to make real liberals out of Palmer and other hypocrites."[49]

The notion of a "movement" to ensure the complete acceptance of unionism, including the CIO, by the liberal establishment may have gone beyond the narrower aspirations of many of the strikers. Such sentiment did not seem overly optimistic in the face of the unprecedented outpouring of support for the strike, and the impressive diversity, size, and loyalty of those on the picket line. Indeed, Connelly's rhetoric was soon matched by the liberal, pro-democratic front assemblyman, Sam Yorty, who, on June 2, declared that Palmer's intransigence had made the strike "a fight of democracy against industrial dictatorship . . . The right to discharge without cause is not a democratic right but one that destroys democracy." Yet for all the militancy and rhetoric of Connelly and others on the left, the Communists had very little impact on the *Citizen-News* strikers

themselves. Indeed they recruited only one or two members into the Party while earning only the disdain and ridicule of others, such as Mel Scott, a key figure in the strike, who while willing to accept the support of the Party, considered its new democratic front to be entirely hypocritical.[50]

Although hardly a typical labor dispute, the strike was seen by many in the labor movement as simply one more battle, if an unusual one, against the city's resilient open shop tradition. For the left wing forces what distinguished the conflict was not merely the size and composition of the picket lines or the professional status of the strikers; rather, it was the potential of the strike as a potent and live symbol of an impending new political alignment. Neither entirely planned nor manipulated by the Communist Party, the strike soon occupied a central position in the local Party's press and propaganda. Indeed the Party made a concerted effort to widen the political dimension of the conflict, and to portray it as a manifestation of growing opposition to anti-union, unfair, and irresponsible business and its corrupt allies in government.

Attempts to link the conflict with other struggles in which the Party was engaged were most clearly evident on Saturday nights, when the picket lines were reinforced by a wide variety of sympathizers. On the first Saturday night, the strikers were joined by two busloads of San Pedro longshoremen, striking auto workers from Long Beach, the Women's Committee of the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the League of Women Shoppers (both close to the CP), several movie personalities, and representatives of almost every paper in the city. In later weeks support came from several other CIO and AFL unions and from the followers of Robert Noble, pension plan advocate and former Huey Long propagandist.[51] However, where support from the latter could and did vary greatly during the course of the ten weeks, the participation of groups with close Party ties remained consistent, subject as it was to a self-imposed discipline unmatched by other organizations.

With the participation of so many celebrities on the picket line, opportunities for widespread publicity soon became evident, and, following the appointment of Frank Scully as head of the public relations committee, the sidewalk outside the paper's offices rapidly took on the appearance and atmosphere of a carnival. Among Scully's priorities was the widest possible distribution of the strike paper, with all Guild members participating in its sale. The first issue of the paper, in addition to giving the background to the conflict, immediately set the tone for the strike by printing Scully's own poem, later carried by Time magazine and even published in the *Citizen-News* itself:[52]

> Oh the *Citizen News*
> Has liberal views

On everything but money
From German Jews
To Rupert Hughes
Their attitudes a honey
For the Citizen News
Has liberal views
On *everything* but money!

Scully's greatest contribution to publicity was his skillful use of the celebrity-filled picket lines to attract the mass media. Among his most effective stunts was an invitation to five hundred movie stars, directors, and screen writers, asking them to appear in front of the paper's offices on June 3 for a "cocktail picket party." With most of the celebrities who had walked the picket lines present, and dressed in costume, the event naturally attracted the attention of the national press. Shortly thereafter a jubilent Scully announced his own candidacy as a liberal democrat for the state assembly.[53]

The resilience of Palmer in the face of this negative publicity surprised many of the strikers. Indeed, as the publisher later pointed out, the paper did not miss an issue, despite losing almost the entire editorial staff. In his first major editorial on the strike on June 6, Palmer attempted to play on some of the legitimate doubts of the strikers:

> I have walked through your picket lines each working day for three weeks now and I haven't seen a sign of happiness on your faces. . . . The Communist supporters have tried their best to cheer and encourage you but they haven't made you happy.

The three fired editorial employees, he pointed out, were all in a position to find work elsewhere, and yet the strikers were prepared to jeopardize the livelihoods of hundreds of others much less well equipped. Palmer's use of the Communist issue was generally subtle. None of the strikers, he suggested, were "in sympathy with the purpose of the Communists who have cheered you while you march," for several of the former had invested savings in the paper's stock and "expected the management to earn six percent dividends." Finally, Palmer, in asserting his own strength, asked rhetorically how the strikers hoped to "destroy a newspaper when 95 percent of its readers and advertisers do not sympathize with your strike?"[54]

Although the strike paper gave a rebuttal to Palmer's claims, the apparent strength of the *Citizen-News* and the Guild's failure to win the support of the commercial and typographical workers necessitated the use

of new tactics, including the controversial secondary boycott. Early in the strike the League of Women Shoppers had set up a "telephone brigade" to persuade advertisers to withdraw from the *Citizen-News*. In a letter to the strike paper president Connelly pointed out that in several other cities the Newspaper Guild had found it necessary to carry out a campaign of secondary picketing, and that while this might prove unnecessary in this case, "we are assured of ample forces to carry it out."[55]

The decision to begin secondary picketing, strongly supported by the Communist Party, was readily accepted by the Guild despite the legal uncertainty of such action in Los Angeles. The risk of disruption by the "Red Squad" was minimized, however, by the number of secondary pickets. Divided into four groups and numbering nearly one thousand, the picketers marched on Saturday in front of the downtown Thrifty, Schwab's and Sontag stores, merging in a mass parade watched by thousands of spectators. Two days later Schwab's clothing store withdrew its advertising when the Journeymen Tailors, a local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, refused to cross the picket lines.[56]

The use of secondary picketing in a city still dominated by upholders of the traditional open shop demonstrated to the Communist Party the increased willingness of the strikers, despite their professional status, to go beyond the usual boundaries of strike action. Such militancy, coming at a time of growing momentum in the city and state for the election of a liberal administration in California, again pointed to the potential power of a more fully developed democratic front coalition.[57]

The movement of the Communist Party toward outright support for Roosevelt on nearly all domestic issues, combined with its own reputation as the most militant antifascist force in the United States, gave the Party a respectability unthinkable two years earlier. Paradoxically, the open image of the Party as demonstrated by the patriotic slogans of the democratic front, served only to obscure the secret identity of hundreds of its members holding important positions in trade unions and a wide variety of political, fraternal, cultural and other organizations. Thus, although the Guild openly accepted the aid of Emil Freed, a Communist functionary in Hollywood (who was accused by Palmer of running the strike), such support was little more than perfunctory in comparison with the direct contributions made by such left-led groups as the American League for Peace and Democracy, the League of Women Shoppers, and the non-public Communists within the union itself.[58]

The influence of the latter was illustrated by the fact that the two union delegates to the ANG national convention held in Toronto in mid-June 1938 were both secret Communists. At the convention, delegates Connelly and Daniel showed a film of the picket lines and appealed for support. Meetings were then held with president Heywood Broun and

ANG officers (and secret Communist Party members) Jonathan Eddy, Morgan Hull, and Abraham Isserman. During these discussions Isserman, the ANG's legal counsel, suggested several tactics to be adopted in the event of an injunction against secondary picketing. These ranged from the use of a sound truck to a mass campaign of defiance against the court ruling.[59]

The ANG convention gave a boost to the LANG by electing Connelly as an international vice-president, voting a one dollar symbolic contribution from every delegate, and instructing Morgan Hull to participate in the direction of the strike. To active opponents of the strike the left-controlled convention only increased their suspicion of the role played by the Communists in the Guild, with a resultant intensification of red-baiting by Palmer and others. The strike leadership responded to this attempted red scare by openly accepting Communist support, and in mid-June the strike committee invited Emil Freed to read a statement in answer to Palmer's editorial on his alleged dictation of the strike. The statement, printed in the strike paper, was a particularly clear example of the Party's new style of appeal to its potential democratic front constituency:

> When Harlan G. Palmer contested the office of District Attorney, we Communists considered his wish to sweep graft and vice from office a genuine one, and we offered him our help. For this we were warmly thanked by Palmer's aides during his campaign. Are Communists progressive when they help Mr. Palmer and not when they help his workers?[60]

Morgan Hull's arrival in late June coincided with a temporary blanket injunction against secondary picketing on Hollywood Boulevard. The injunction was issued by "Injunction" Judge Emmett Wilson, a long-time foe of trade unionism in Los Angeles. The reaction of the strikers to this development was symptomatic of recent major changes in the city's labor relations. Encouraged by the recent conviction of Kynette, the growing momentum of the recall campaign, and the decision of the CIO to throw its full support to the strikers, the Guild, with the help of Morgan Hull, launched a series of actions designed to nullify the effect of the injunction.

The strikers responded to the injunction with a sound truck and a special issue of the strike paper devoted to "the Strike Committee's fight for civil rights as affecting all organized labor in Los Angeles." The sound truck proved an effective tactic, since it attracted publicity while remaining within the letter of the law. At the same time, it focused attention on the use by the courts of the strike injunction and seemingly confirmed the Communist Party's oft-repeated criticism of the latter as a weapon used by reactionary open shop forces such as the Merchants and Manufacturers,

the Chamber of Commerce, and their "front" groups, the Southern Californians Inc., the Neutral Thousands, and others.[61]

When the frustrated "Red Squad" arrested the three strike leaders for passing out strike handbills, apparently in violation of a city ordinance, Hull, Connelly and Johnson received maximum publicity for this struggle against the injunction. A recent decision by the Supreme Court legalizing the distribution of handbills allowed the Guild to turn the arrest into a symbol of "Red Squad" lawlessness. Although the three men were released on their own recognizance within two hours, the union made the most of the incident, printing a photograph of the union leaders behind bars on the front page of the strike paper. "We insist on testing this thing," Connelly announced. "We want to know whether in Los Angeles we still have constitutional rights or not."[62]

Fear that a drawn out strike could prove ruinously expensive, and anxious to maintain momentum, the strikers continued to hold regular picket line functions for celebrities and emphasized in their internal bulletins the importance of regular attendance on the picket line. At the same time, having demonstrated their militancy and strength, the Guild, in July, turned increasingly to the courts for vindication--an emphasis encouraged by the Communists and the CIO, both of whom were anxious to consolidate and preserve their hard-earned public respectability for the impending city and state elections.

In early July the NLRB, acting on Guild charges of unfair dismissals by Palmer, arranged for public hearings. These provided an excellent forum for the Guild, with dramatic testimony detailing Palmer's intimidation of editorial employees and on-going struggle against the Board itself. Questioned by Guild attorney Carey McWilliams, Palmer admitted that he had delivered a report at a convention of the California Publishers Association suggesting a variety of tactics to be used against the NLRB. Palmer was followed by Roger Johnson who produced a copy of a *Citizen-News* office bulletin posted by the publisher on May 14, in which the Judge stated his willingness to incur costs of up to $10,000 in order to fight the earlier company union charge brought by the NLRB--this despite his continual cry of poverty during the negotiations with the Guild, and his claims of financial losses during the recent recession.[63]

Palmer's behavior, wrote the *People's World* in a carefully worded editorial, was like that of many American businessmen:

> They are law abiding, hard working, honest in their dealings [but]... they look upon their business as something personal, something entirely their own, and they take great satisfaction in it. They cannot brook the notion that in the larger sense their business has an essential relationship to a complex social

> structure. The appearance of unions . . . the knowledge that the national government may interest itself in their relations with their employees cause them great discomfort.[64]

Despite their success in discrediting Palmer, few among the strikers could take much satisfaction in damaging the reputation of their paper. "Palmer could have been America's outstanding progressive journalist," wrote Roger Johnson, "if he had traveled with the tide of union growth instead of attempting to battle the inevitable. It is no pleasure to tear down an institution."[65] In late July, when the Los Angeles municipal court ruled the city's handbill ordinance unconsitutional,[66] the Guild announced its willingness to respond to written and oral commitments to settle the dispute made by Palmer and his attorney on July 19. Low in funds and clearly anxious to salvage their jobs, the strikers nevertheless determined to seize the opportunity for a favorable settlement by a show of strength. With the financially lucrative *Citizen-News* Dollar Day approaching,when certain stores reduced many prices to one dollar and advertised their discounts in the *Citizen News*, the union, on Saturday, July 29, mounted the largest picketing demonstration in the city's history. Participants included five visiting international vice-presidents of the international Ladies Garment Workers Union, four Spanish Civil War veterans, as well as the entire cast of the nationally successful labor play "Pins and Needles." During the demonstration, the union announced that it expected ten thousand or more of its supporters to picket those stores on Hollywood Boulevard which displayed the *Citizen-News* Dollar Day sale emblem.[67]

Although later strongly denied by Palmer, the strikers maintained that the threatened massive Dollar Day demonstration was the impetus for Palmer's agreement to settle the strike on July 30. Under the settlement the publisher agreed to reinstate the dismissed employees and to sign the contract previously negotiated. The strikers were also to be granted two weeks immediate paid vacation while the NLRB determined the extent of back pay. Finally, Palmer, in addition to recognizing the Guild, agreed to make no discharges for reasons of economy until January 1, 1939.[68]

Despite these concessions, Palmer remained publicly defiant, declaring in an editorial that the strikers "return to meet the bitterness of 225 employees who remained loyal to the paper while they, other labor organizations, and Communists sought to destroy the business that provides the jobs."[69] In the weeks following their return to work the strikers experienced the practical effects of Palmer's own bitterness. Described in great detail some months later by Roger Johnson, these included the rearrangement of duties amounting to demotion for almost all of the strikers. Editorial writer Mel Scott, one of the three originally fired

by Palmer, was given "minor reportorial duties usually handled by novice reporters," while Johnson himself was given virtually no assignments at all. In addition, several union members were immediately served with contempt citations relating to the secondary picketing injunction, despite a management promise to move for dismissal of all pending court action. Formal complaints by the Guild, as well as a dramatic protest visit to the *Citizen-News* office by Harry Bridges and his entourage during the state CIO convention in mid-August, proved fruitless, and in subsequent months the work environment deteriorated further as Palmer's political shift to the right gained momentum.[70]

Under such circumstances, any assessment of the significance of the strike must consider the differing goals of the diverse organizations and individuals participating in it. The immediate tangible benefits for the strikers themselves were few. Indeed they had won little that had not already been conceded before the dismissals. Reinstatement of the five dismissed employees was clearly a victory, although their final status remained dependent on the NLRB complaint filed prior to the calling of the strike. While the Board did eventually decide in favor of the Guild, the decision proved largely academic, three of the five having already left the paper by the end of the year.[71]

If the gains of the strikers were at best ambiguous, the larger democratic front coalition considered the strike a qualified success which demonstrated wide support for organized labor at a critical time. The final weeks of the strike coincided with an intensification of the drive to recall Mayor Shaw, and to defeat an antipicketing ordinance, Proposition 1, successfully placed on the ballot by the open shop organizations. The Communist Party in its literature had often stressed the importance of unity within the democratic front coalition in the face of an inevitable counterattack from the right. It had also warned of the possibility of a backlash by traditionally anti-union middle-class elements and labor bureaucrats confronted with a display of concerted labor militancy. The danger of such a reaction was illustrated by the AFL's defiant endorsement of Mayor Shaw and its renewed campaign of red-baiting in the fall, both of which were a direct product of its rivalry with the CIO. Among those capitalizing on this backlash was Harry Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times*, who, on July 29, accused the Guild of working to damage the general community in order to punish Palmer.

The continuing power of the open shop forces in Los Angeles, as demonstrated by the petitions placing Proposition 1 on the ballot, was in some sense a reflection of the national shift to the right in late 1938. With the New Deal itself under attack, the left now sought an extension of the local coalition that had come together during the strike. Thus only one week after the settlement, representatives of the coalition, after

considerable internal debate, agreed to accept the decision of the clean government forces in support of the mayoralty candidacy of the moderate reformer, Judge Fletcher Bowron.[72] This important decision, made with the agreement of the Communists in the coalition, who had initially favored the (then) left wing assemblyman Sam Yorty, was followed by the first statewide CIO convention in which "Slim" Connelly was overwhelmingly elected state president of the CIO. At the convention, in which the Communists played a crucial role, the CIO resolved to defeat Proposition 1 at the local elections, and to work for the victory of all "progressive" New Deal democrats in the national and state elections. Recognizing the achievement of the strikers the convention pledged its "active support to its affiliate union, the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild, in its determination to take immediate steps to see that the *Citizen-News* Guild unit members are returned to the positions they formerly held."[73]

Bolstered by their growing strength in the CIO and the larger liberal community, and exhilarated by the support given the strike by Hollywood celebrities, many of whom had drawn closer to the left in recent months, the local Communist Party tended to overlook the almost certain loss, in Harlan Palmer, of a respected and influential pro-New Deal voice in southern California. Also downplayed was the limited and fleeting nature of the support given the strike by the AFL. Any support from the conservative and machine-controlled AFL Central Labor Council was to be appreciated in view of the bitter antagonisms between the two national organizations, but it could not hide the continuing failure to reach unity even on issues unrelated to the split itself. A measure of AFL support was gratefully received during the strike, although it did not prevent the Teamsters Union, among others, from breaking the picket lines, or the Central Labor Council from endorsing Shaw during the recall campaign. This action by the AFL could not prevent the left-labor-liberal coalition in its successful effort to help elect Judge Bowron, a victory that led to the disbanding of the Red Squad and a further crack in the open shop. It did split the labor vote and contribute to the passage of the anti-union Proposition 1.[74]

The *Citizen-News* strike, despite these qualifications, was a considerable boost to those active in the creation of a left-labor-liberal coalition along the lines of the "democratic front." The coalition, although weakened from the beginning by the opposition of the AFL, successfully altered the face of California politics and labor relations in the years 1937-39 by organizing and focusing the protest of those dispossessed, poor, and working people who had cast one million votes for Upton Sinclair's EPIC in 1934. Indeed among those on the *Citizen-News* picket lines were several democratic assemblymen originally elected on the EPIC platform, as well as elderly supporters of the "$30 Every Thursday" (later

Ham and Eggs) pension plan. These groups were now joined by antifascist organizations, by representatives of recently formed industrial unions such as the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union, the auto and rubber workers, and finally by newly radicalized Hollywood and entertainment figures. Mobilizing and holding together this broad, if incomplete, coalition, were Communists, both open and secret, and their supporters in the participating organizations of the "democratic front."[75].

In addition to consolidating the coalition, the *Citizen-News* strike accelerated the increasing waive of red-baiting emanating nationally from the Dies Committee and locally from right-wing, open shop organizations. The latter were now joined by an increasingly conservative Harlan Palmer. In August 1938, such groups seemed to many on the left to be on the defensive, faced as they were by a militant state CIO, a growing antifascist movement, and the likely election of a New Deal oriented democratic governor-the first in forty years of republican rule. Meanwhile membership in the Communist Party during this two year period became a viable choice for many pro-union liberals and New Dealers who only three years earlier might have considered the Party's revolutionary ideology, rhetoric and style to be entirely alien to the traditions and needs of the American working class. Without the influx of these American-born leftists from ordinary working and middle-class backgrounds, the Communist Party of Los Angeles could never have won effective leadership of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild and the local CIO council. Nor indeed could it and its counterparts have achieved the remarkable degree of influence within the California Democratic Party and the liberal Democratic administration of Governor Culbert L. Olson that it reached during the heyday of the "democratic front." While many of these gains would be lost during the break up of the "democratic front" in 1940-41, the underlying strength and political progressivism of LANG and the entire CIO would remain essentially intact for another decade.

NOTES

[1] Brief accounts of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* strike can be found in Walter B. Wentz, "History of the Los Angeles Newspaper Guild" (Unpublished M.A., Claremont, 1958), 83-96; Louis B. Perry and Richard S. Perry, *A History of the Los Angeles Labor Movement, 1911-1941* (Los Angeles, 1963), 476-479; Nancy Lynn Schwartz, *The Hollywood Writers' Wars* (New York, 1982), 120-121. Only Wentz touches on the role of the Communists in the Guild. I am indebted to Roger Johnson for use of his unique collection of Guild materials, and to Tom Cullen for his insightful criticisms and suggestions.

[2] "Draft Convention Resolutions," *Communist* 17 (April 1938), 351-355; Clarence Hathaway, "Building the Democratic Front," *Communist* 17 (May 1938), 404-409. For differing views on the efficacy of the Democratic Front see Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York, 1984), 207-222 and Kenneth Waltzer, "The Party and the Polling

Place: American Communism and an American Labor Party in the 1930's," *Radical History Review* 23 (Spring 1980), 104-129.

[3] See Donald David Ranstead, "District 13: A History of the Activities of the California Communist Party, 1929-1940" (Unpublished M.A., University of California, Berkeley, 1963) for the early trade union work of the Party in the state; Roger Johnson, "How a Guild is Born: LANG nears Silver Anniversary--It All Started 25 Years Ago," *Page One Magazine*, July 1961, 4.

[4] *People's World*, 3 June 1939.

[5] Author's interview with Roger Johnson, 8 January 1983 (hereafter cited as Johnson interview); Author's interview with Ellenore Bogigian Hittel man (former Guild member), (Hereafter cited as Hittelman interview.) 4 June 1982; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 1.

[6] Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 1; "Membership Roll: Los Angeles Newspaper Guild" (Unpublished document in possession of Roger Johnson). Roosevelt's so-called Second New Deal of 1935-37 saw the passage of social security legislation, the National Labor Relations Act, and the attempt to "pack" the Supreme Court.

[7] *Daily Variety*, 21 October 1936; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 47.

[8] Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16.

[9] *Daily Variety*, 30 October 1936; *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild News*, 7 November 1936; *United Progressive News*, 2 November 1936.

[10] Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16; *Epic News*, 21 December 1936.

[11] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 61; Roger Johnson, "Statement for Immediate Release to the Guild Reporter," December, 1936. (Unpublished document in possession of Roger Johnson).

[12] Johnson interview, "How a Guild is Born," 16; Robert Kenny, *Forty Years in California Politics* (Oral History Program, UCLA, 1964), 107; Robert Gottlieb and Irene Wolt, *Thinking Big: The Story of the Los Angeles Times: Its Publishers and Their Influence on Southern California* (New York, 1977), 219-225.

[13] For a detailed account of the district attorney's race of 1936 in which Palmer did very little actual campaigning, see June E. Hallberg, "The Fitts-Palmer Campaign for District Attorney in Los Angeles, 1936" (M.A., UCLA, 1940).

[14] *100th Anniversary of the Los Angeles Typographical Union No. 174*, (Los Angeles, 1975); Wentz, "History of the LANG," 54-56; Rodney P. Carlisle, *Hearst and the New Deal: The Progressive as Reactionary* (New York, 1979), 131-141.

[15] Daniel J. Leab, *A Union of Individuals: the formation of the American Newspaper Guild, 1933-36* (New York, 1970), 266-268; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 63; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16.

[16] Johnson interview; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16; *LANG Bulletin*, 10 March 1937; *Los Angeles Times*, 26 February 1937.

[17] United States Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, 82nd Congress, 2nd session, May 1952, *Communist Activities Among Professional Groups in the Los Angeles Area*--Part 2, (Washington, D.C., 1952), vol. 4, 3585.

[18] Johnson interview; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16; *Los Angeles Newspaper Guild Bulletin*, 23 April, 14 May 1937; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 55-59; *LANG Bulletin*, 14 May 1937; *Pacific Reporter*, 20 May 1937. At the ANG convention, Johnson and two other LANG delegates avoided identification with either the New York "progressive majority" or the less radical Washington minority groups, but did vote for CIO affiliation, "Report on the St. Louis Convention," in possession of Roger Johnson.

[19] *Los Angeles Daily News*, 28 August 1937; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 16.

[20] *LANG Bulletin*, August 1937; Leab, *A Union of Individuals*, 261; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 59.

[21] Author's interview with Dorothy Healey, 5 April 1983; U.S. Congress, Committee on Un-American Activities, 82nd Congress, 2nd session May 1952, vol. 4, part 2, 3580; Johnson interview; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 25; *People's World*, 11 January 1938; *Daily Variety*, 25 January 1938; Author's interview with Tom Cullen, 28 June 1982.

[22] *LANG Bulletin*, August 1937; *Editor and Publisher*, 13 November 1937, 11; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 62.

[23] Letter from J.W. Buzzell, secretary, Los Angeles Central Labor Council to Frank Barham, publisher, Los Angeles *Herald and Express*, 22 September 1937, in possession of Roger Johnson; *LANG Bulletin*, September, October 1937; *Daily Variety*, 15 October 1937; CIO *Industrial Unionist*, 15 October 1937; Letter form Roger Johnson to George Young, publisher, Los Angeles Examiner, 21 September 1937; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 70-74. Buzzell failed in a similar attempt at the *Herald and Express*, *LANG Bulletin*, October 1937.

[24] Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 25.

[25] Testimony of Urcel Daniel in United States Congress, Committee on Un-American Activities, 82nd Congress, 2nd session, May 1952, vol. 4, 3577.

[26] Ibid; Author's interview with Eugene Bradford (member of LANG), 18 March 1983. (Hereafter cited as Bradford interview.)

[27] California, Senate, *Report [of the] Joint Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities in California*, [First Report], 55th session (1943), 152-155; United States Congress, Committee on Un-American Activities 82nd Congress, 2nd session, May 1952, vol. 4, 3585-3586.

[28] Ibid; 3575-3596; United States Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Un-American Activities, 82nd Congress, 2nd session, January 1952, vol. 3, part 1, 2631-2652.

[29] "Exposure" of alleged Communists in the State Relief Administration was the original purpose of renegade liberal Samuel Yorty's State Assembly Investigating Committee set up in 1940. It was replaced in 1941 by the broader anti-Communist California Senate Committee on Un-American Activities, known as the Tenney Committee.

[30] Los Angeles *Citizen*, 14 August 1936.

[31] "Statement by Roger Johnson concerning Hollywood *Citizen-News*," in possession of Roger Johnson.

[32] "Minutes of Executive Board [of the LANG]," 15 December 1937, in possession of Roger Johnson; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 83-84. "Slim" Connelly also developed a tactical plan for negotiations with management under which he would take an aggressive, accusative stance, while another member of the negotiating team played the role of conciliator and pacifier. Bradford interview.

[33] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 85; *United Progressive News*, 4 April 1938; *People's World*, 27 May, 9, 13, 14 July 1938.

[34] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 85.

[35] "Report of the Executive Secretary [of the LANG], December 9 to December 15 [1937]," in possession of Roger Johnson; *People's World*, 6, 8, 11, April 1938.

[36] Hollywood *Citizen-News*, 4 May 1938; *People's World*, 16 May 1938; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 85.

[37] Hollywood *Citizen-News*, 17, 18, May 1938; *People's World*, 16 May 1938; Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 25.

[38] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 86; Johnson interview; "Additional Statement by Roger Johnson concerning Hollywood *Citizen-News*," in possession of Roger Johnson.

[39] Johnson, "How a Guild is Born," 36; Frank Scully, *This Gay Knight* (Philadelphia & New York, 1962), 155-156; *People's World*, 16 May 1938; Wentz, "History of the LANG," 86; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 17 May 1938.

[40] See Guy W. Finney, *Angel City in Turmoil* (Los Angeles, 1945); Clinton J. Taft, *Fifteen Years on Freedoms Front* (Los Angeles, 1939); and Clinton J. Taft, "City of Fallen Angels," *Forum and Century* 94, no. 5 (May 1938) for the differing roles of Davis, Kynette and Hynes; Hittelman interview.

[41] *People's World*, 18 May 1938.

[42] This point is made by Schwartz, *The Hollywood Writers' Wars*, 120. The *Los Angeles Times* gave the strike only light coverage, although it did note that AFL and independent mechanical employees on the *Citizen-News* had "voted the strike's picket line illegal." *Los Angeles Times*, 19 May 1938.

[43] Author's interview with Roger Johnson; see also Larry Ceplaire and Steve Englund's *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community, 1930-1960* (New York, 1980), chapters 3-4.

[44] Author's interview with Roger Johnson.

[45] Los Angeles *Citizen*, 12 June 1938; the AFL's weekly paper generally confined its comment on the strike to a denunciation of company union in the *Citizen-News* mechanical shop; *People's World*, 19 May 1938. Mel Scott, editorial writer for the *Citizen-News*, defying the objections of union officials, spoke before a meeting at the AFL Carpenters' union and won the union's support for the strike; Johnson interview.

[46] *People's World*, 19, 20 May 1938; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 20 May 1938; Schwartz, *The Hollywood Writers' Wars*, 120.

[47] *Hollywood Citizen-News Striker*, May-July 1938. Dorothy Parker was one of the several celebrities who appeared on the Guild's radio program; Johnson interview.

[48] *People's World*, 19 May 1938. The Guild later claimed to have effected a 25-35 percent reduction in circulation, and 50 percent drop in advertising revenue. See Wentz, "History of the LANG," 87.

[49] *People's World*, 23 May 1938.

[50] *People's World*, 3 June 1938. Both the Neutral Thousands and the Merchants and Manufacturers opposed the strike and gave verbal support to the *Citizen-News*. See United States Congress, Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Education and Labor, *Hearings on S. Res. 266, violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, 74th Congress, 3rd session (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), part 63, exhibit 9832, 23214-23215. Mel Scott, an experienced political commentator, remembers playfully taunting the Communist functionary Emil Freed on the picket line about Soviet human rights abuse; Johnson interview.

[51] *People's World* coverage of the strike far exceeded that of even the liberal Boddy press; *People's World*, 20, 21, 23, 25, 26, 30 May 1938; *Hollywood Citizen-News Striker*, 1 June 1938.

[52] *Hollywood Citizen-News Striker*, 20 May 1938; *People's World*, 18 May 1938; Time, 6 June 1938; Hollywood *Citizen-News*, 18 May.

[53] *People's World*, 25 May 1938; Time, 6 June 1938; Scully, *This Gay Knight*, 157.

[54] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 86; *Hollywood Citizen-News*, 6 June 1938. The strikers responded to the editorial with a picture of the Guild unit "grinning from ear to ear," *Guild Reporter*, 13 June 1938.

[55] *Citizen-News Strike Bulletin*, 26 May 1938, in the Philip Connelly Papers, box 3, file 3, Research Library, special Collections, UCLA; *People's World*, 27 May 1938; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 26 May 1938.

[56] *People's World*, 6, 8 June 1938.

[57] See the *People's World* for June 1938 for descriptions of the developing democratic front.

[58] "Minutes of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* Strike Committee," 12 June 1938, in possession of Roger Johnson; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 15 June 1938; Author's interview with Emil Freed, 21 September 1983.

[59] *People's World*, 15 June 1938; "Minutes of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* Strike committee," 19 June 1938.

[60] *People's World*, 15 June 1938; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 15 June 1938.

[61] *People's World*, 27 June 1938; "Minutes of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* Striker," 20 June 1938. The strikers filed a civil suit against police chief Davis and the Red Squad demanding an injunction to prohibit them from enforcing an unconstitutional law, *People's World*, 2 July 1938.

[62] *People's World*, 23, 25, 27 June 1938; Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 22, 30 June 1938.

[63] "Minutes of the Hollywood *Citizen-News* Strike Committee," 13, 14, July 1938; *People's World*, 6, 7, 9, 13, 14 July 1938; Los Angeles *Times*, 12, July 1938.

[64] *People's World*, 14 July 1938.

[65] Ibid, 12 July 1938.

[66] Hollywood *Citizen-News Striker*, 23 July 1938.

[67] Ibid., 23, 29 July 1938; *People's World*, 1 August 1938.

[68] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 87; *People's World*, 1 August 1938.

[69] *People's World*, 3 August 1938.

[70] "Statement of Roger Johnson," January 1939, in possession of Roger Johnson; *People's World*, 22 August 1938. Palmer's rightward shift began during the strike when he supplied information on the union's secondary picketing to the Southern Californians Inc., United States Congress, Senate, *Hearing on S. Res. 266, Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, part 57, 21154-21155.

[71] Wentz, "History of the LANG," 94; *People's World*, 5 October 1938.

[72] *People's World*, 30 July, 10, 18 August 1938; Los Angeles *Examiner*, 9 August 1938; the *Communist*, November 1938, 1020-1023.

[73] "Proceedings of the First State CIO Convention, Los Angeles, 20-21 August 1938," in the Dorothy Healey Papers, Box 41, California State University at Long Beach; *People's World*, 23 August 1938.

[74] Bradford interview; Fred W. Viehe, "The Recall of Mayor Frank L. Shaw: A Revision," *California History* 59 (Winter 1980/81); United States Congress, Senate, *Hearings on S. Res. 266, Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, part 63, 23214; *People's World*, 21 September 1938.

[75] See Max Gordon, "The Communist Party of the Nineteen-Thirties and the New Left," and reply by James Weinstein, in *Socialist Revolution* 6 (January-March 1976), 11-66.

"Cattle Aplenty and Other Things in Proportion" The Agricultural Society and Fair in Franklin County, Massachusetts, 1810-1860

Mark A. Mastromarino

Nineteenth century farmers in the fertile Connecticut River Valley in Massachusetts were not the first Americans to develop societies devoted to the qualitative and quantitative improvement of agriculture. Agricultural societies, composed of educated urban gentlemen, who set up expensive experiments and published their proceedings, existed in the eighteenth century. But in the early nineteenth century these societies underwent changes in focus and appeal. The influence of "gentlemen" farmers gave way as farmers gave up subsistence for commercial farming. A vast network of markets developed and county fairs became distinctly commercial and recreational in character. The agricultural societies and fairs in Franklin County and its neighboring counties reflected the socio-economic changes taking place in New England, especially during the years 1810 to 1860.[1]

The victorious leaders of the American Revolution realized that in challenging old political forms, they had evoked a climate in the new country that encouraged acceptance of new ideas. Forward-looking agriculturalists like George Washington and Thomas Jefferson saw far beyond the political implications of this receptiveness to change. The great men of the new nation hoped that they could transplant the European agricultural revolution to the United States and nurture it in the fertile seed-bed of post-Revolutionary America. At the same time, they wished to weed out the unscientific folk customs which characterized the old tradition-bound system of American farming.[2]

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The Founding Fathers planned to guide the infant American movement for agricultural improvement themselves through the formation of agricultural societies modeled after contemporary British associations. These unions generally consisted of large landowners, wealthy merchants, and gentlemen farmers who possessed enough money and leisure time to dabble in agricultural experimentation. Such men were usually well educated enough to report on the results of their elaborate experimentation and to intelligently discuss the implications with their peers.[3]

The American equivalent of these societies were associations of the urban elite, who dominated agricultural organization throughout the thirteen colonies in the closing years of the eighteenth century. They were soon challenged, however, in the early nineteenth century by a second generation of American agricultural societies, grass-roots associations organized by progressive community leaders along a local or county-wide constituency. These new societies responded to the interest in increased agricultural production, which had been stimulated by favorable market conditions. Yankee farmers began practicing surplus over subsistence farming on a grander scale than ever before. They wanted to learn more about crop rotation, the use of new fertilizers, modern farm implements, and selective breeding of livestock in order to increase their profits. Unlike the first American agricultural societies which preached agricultural improvement in patriotic and altruistic terms, the county societies translated the movement for scientific agriculture into dollars and cents gains which Yankee farmers more readily appreciated.[4]

Once agricultural improvement was removed from the realm of lofty ideals and nationalistic abstractions, it began to be considered in the practical terms of individual self-advancement. No longer could the farmers' growing impatience with the first learned agricultural societies be held in check. The new societies which sprouted up across New England and the Old Northwest all ultimately derived from the efforts of one man. In Berkshire County in western Massachusetts, Elkanah Watson, a New York entrepreneur who had retired "from the city in pursuit of rural occupations and felicity," developed a practical system of agricultural organization and education. His program, unlike that of the learned societies in Boston and other cities, took into account the entire rural experience of the farmer and his family. Watson's new "Agricultural Societies on the Modern Berkshire System" were not based upon expensive experiments, agricultural libraries, or erudite publications, all of which were alien to most rural agriculturalists. Elkanah Watson created the first modern agricultural fair, the first successful institution of agricultural education which appealed to the rural masses.[5]

Watson's fairs were more than mere educational institutions. Like most Yankee farms, the agricultural fair was multi-functional. Watson had a

keen grasp of basic human nature, and he appealed to the deep-rooted feelings of the country-folk, such as traditional conservatism, self-pride, love of competition, need for company, thrift, and ardent patriotism. The earliest local and country fairs combined social, recreational, education, and commercial features. Therein lay the success, and the later troubles, of agricultural fairs founded upon Watson's principles.

Watson's fairs and agricultural societies were popular because they provided participants with a sense of communal fellowship in an age of growing economic individualism and political polarization. With the rise of commercial agriculture, farmers began to compete with each other for access to the same markets. Party differences between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans overflowed the political arena. But Watson's Berkshire Agricultural Society, organized in 1811 by men of both parties who believed that agricultural improvement could be effected only by a unified community, was neutral ground unprofaned by "the rage of parties."

The sociality of community fairs, as well as the shared sense of purpose and the communal harmony evoked by Watson's earliest exhibitions, also attracted the rural population to the fairgrounds. Farming was usually a lonely occupation. But the agricultural fair drew the farmer out of the seclusion imposed by rural distances and constant labor, and brought him into contact with his sod-busting colleagues. Such contact also engendered a sense of solidarity, and it enlarged and liberalized an individual's views. In conversations with his neighbors, as well as in addresses and reports treating upon subjects of immediate interest to him, the farmer at the fair found abundant food for thought. While he met old friends and made new ones, the farmer gained pride in himself and in his profession.

His social, political, and economic leaders instilled in him this professional pride by insisting that the survival and prosperity of the new nation rested upon his shoulders. They told him that the rural life of the yeoman made him uniquely productive and important to American society. His close communion with nature gave his life a wholesomeness, integrity, and a moral well-being which was the central source of civic virtue. As the national economy became less agricultural and more commercial during the nineteenth century, such sentiments conformed less with American realities. The annual fairs at first played an important role as perennial manifestations of the tenacity of the agricultural myth, but even they eventually began to succumb to the rise of commercialism and industrialism in America.[6]

Occurring every autumn at the close of the farmer's busiest season, the fair had always been regarded essentially as a latter-day harvest-home festival, a celebration of rural life. Fair day brought relaxation and a reason for social intercourse, and provided an opportunity for the entire

farm family, including women and children, to enjoy the ends of their honest labors. The amusement features of the early fairs represented the same type of communal recreation that pleased the participants in barn-raisings, log-rollings, and husking bees. The hawkers and vendors who had previously haunted only militia musters and Fourth of July celebrations set up booths for the sale of refreshments and Yankee notions at Watson's very first Berkshire fair. There were also new components. The rides and amusements of later midways were represented at this first fair by a hot-air balloon, or "aerial phaeton."[7]

By representing agricultural improvements to people distracted by all sorts of pleasantries, the agricultural fair became the most effective form of agricultural education in the first half of the nineteenth century. Although Watson's fairs started out as exhibitions of merino sheep, which taught the public about the advantages of raising this improved wool-bearer, farmers soon became introduced to improved breeds of other types of farm animals, to better agricultural implements, to new crops, and to more efficient farming practices. The awarding of premiums for the exhibition of superior animals and products spurred them on to greater efforts. Because the fairs presented, not scientific theory, but concrete illustrations of agricultural improvement, the farmers' interests were easily engaged. Scientific agriculture assumed for them everyday proportions and became a part of their rural existence.[8]

Another important reason why the agricultural fair became a viable institution was because it was one of the few surviving islands of traditionalism awash in the boiling sea of perpetual change of the antebellum era. The fair celebrated the simple life of the farmer at a time when farming was beginning to be seen more as a business than as a way of life. Although the sponsors of the fairs advanced new scientific ideas and progressive agriculutral techniques, men like Elkanah Watson looked nostalgically to the old days when life seemed quieter and less complicated than to the hectic future. They were steeped in the traditional values of New England, which centered around the family, the community, and the nation. At a time of growing individualism and rampant materialism, the Berkshire Agricultural Society and the other new agricultural societies reflected past ideals. The fair provided a safe sense of stability and a consistency with comfortable yesterdays, thus appealing to a society largely uncertain of its tomorrows.

Watson's fairs evolved from European and American urban commercial fairs, and from the very beginning of the modern American agricultural fair there existed a tension between its educational and commercial aspects. Even Watson admitted that his institution would degenerate into mere "regular annual fairs. .. for the interchange and sale of animals, and domestic manufactures" if lack of funding prevented premium prizes

from being awarded. The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, which followed Watson's lead and began to hold annual fairs near Boston in 1816 in the important cattle market center of Brighton, had always emphasized the commercial benefits of cattle shows and fairs whenever it advertised its exhibitions.[9]

Watson hoped, that economic motivation and commercial exploitation would be only a temporary part of his fairs. Measures such as premium awards and auctions of goods and animals would serve only to kindle an interest in agricultural improvement. Once lit, the fire would continue to burn, fed by community interest and national patriotism. Watson wrote in 1820 that "After a few years... when excitements are no longer necessary to lead the people to a knowledge of their true interest... no further efforts will be required, as all will move in harmony and system, from year to year."[10]

But, as seen by the experiences of Franklin County farmers, a new era was dawning in America in the first half of the nineteenth century. Mills, manufactories, and forges dotted the New England countryside. Railroads began to crisscross Berkshire, Franklin, and other counties of western Massachusetts. People other than farmers went to the fair to enjoy themselves, and not necessarily to learn about the principles of scientific agriculture. Merchants and manufacturers began to attend the county fairs and started to use them to their own advantage. Watson's optimistic vision was proven inaccurate. Although he had been an ambitious entrepreneur himself, and was part owner of a woolens factory in Pittsfield, he failed to foresee the long-range consequences of "touching a *string which never fails*... to vibrate in unison with all, viz--self-love,-- self-interest..."[11]

The transformation of the agicultural fair in Franklin County from a basically agricultural forum to a commercial and recreational event serves to illustrate the transitory stage of the agricultural improvement movement in the first half of the nineteenth century. This transformation, of course, was intimately interconnected with the general economic trends of the time. The history of the fair in Franklin, Hampshire, and Hampden counties located along the Connecticut River in Massachusetts reflects the shift of the American economy from predominantly agricultural to a chiefly commercial and industrial one.

Franklin Country with its two main population centers, the towns of Deerfield and Greenfield, which were located on major routes of travel- the important north-south avenue of the Connecticut River and an east-west system of roads and turnpikes- was subject to outside influences. The county's remoteness, as well as the general conservativeness of rural populations, ensured that the process of agricultural improvement was excessively selective. Farmers were more inclined to leave the county to find new improvements in agriculture than to have these new ideas reach

the Connecticut Valley. It was more than ninety miles to Boston, home of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and to Brighton, which after 1816 was the site of one of New England's largest and most popular agricultural fairs. The Franklin County farmers, who drove their stall-fed oxen to the Brighton cattle market and who entered animals for premiums at the Brighton Cattle Show and Fair, returned to their valley with news of the latest advances in scientific agriculture then being made by the British and being publicized by the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. Pittsfield was less than forty miles to the west, one of the chief population centers of neighboring Berkshire County and home after 1811 of Elkanah Watson's Berkshire Agricultural Society.[12]

On February 1, 1814, a notice appeared in the *Franklin Herald*:

> The public are hereby informed. . . that . . .the "FRANKLIN AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY" has been lately instituted at Deerfield, the most prominent designs of which are improvement in the whole management and economy of a farm, together with the mutual contribution of all new and valuable discoveries.[13]

This association probably took as its model the respected Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, and developed as a learned agriculture society on a local, instead of a statewide, basis. Its membership was selective. Gentlemen were required to submit applications for approval before being admitted. Like the Massachusetts Society, it looked to the benefits which would accrue to the nation from agricultural improvement. The society planned on "procuring new and rare plants and seeds" and on "exhibiting remarkable productions. Like other learned agricultural societies of the day, the Franklin Agricultural Society provided an exclusive borrowing library consisting of such volumes as Mills's *On Cattle*, Davy's *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry*, Bordley' *Animal Husbandry* and the 1799 and 1810 communications of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture. Membership was open to the neighboring towns of Franklin County, only sixteen of the Society's seventy-two members did not come from Deerfield.[14]

Most of these same gentlemen also became members of the new Farmers' Association, which replaced the financially ailing Franklin Agricultural Society in 1821. This second society fell heir to the Franklin Society's agricultural library, but the ideological foundation of the two societies differed significantly. The membership of the Farmers' Association still consisted primarily of Deerfield's most prosperous folk and of such community leaders as Epaphrus Hoyt, a Major General of the Massachusetts militia, his brother Elihu, who served for thirty years as a

state legislator (both brothers were nominated to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture in 1818), and Orlando Ware, store proprietor and Deerfield selectman.[15] But the new society encompassed a wider geographical area and, more importantly, a greater democratic spirit than the first Franklin society. A public notice announcing its first meeting amply illustrates this egalitarianism:

> A PUBLIC MEETING will be held. . . for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of forming an Agricultural Society for this County . . . .[It] is desirable that every town. . . be represented by as many as can conveniently attended . . . in order that there may be a full expression of the public sentiment in regard to this important subject. . .[16]

This new society, modeled on Watson's Berkshire society, was more in tune with the spirit of the times. Most New England farmers resented the patronizing attitude of the older agricultural societies, and felt that they could profit more by exchanging facts and ideas based upon personal experience than by being preached to by their second superiors. The Farmers' Association, therefore, sincerely sought popular support and strove to present itself as a society of the people. Its first official act was the organization of an annual agricultural fair, like those of Watson's, in Pittsfield.

Watson's early fairs were very popular because he catered to popular sentiment: the love of competition, country, ceremony, and socializing, which inspired most New England farm families. The first morning of the two-day fair was taken up with registering farm animals and setting up the exhibits of vegetables, farm implements, and domestic manufactures, which probably influenced American agriculture more than any other aspect of the fair. Farmers were introduced to new breeds of animals, to superior plants, to improved agricultural implements, and later, to new inventions. They came away from the fair with ideas for improving farm operations, and some either purchased new stock or contracted to hire the stud services of premium winning animals. The comparison of one man's produce with the superlative example of another's was intended to spur all on to greater efforts through healthy competition. The awarding of premiums to best entries in all categories was therefore imperative

After the judges had examined all the entries on the first day, a plowing match took place. This match not only tested and demonstrated various types of plows, but readily developed into an exciting sporting event.[17] The remaining daylight hours were spent by the judges in committee meetings, deciding who deserved premiums and inscribing the elaborate prize certificates. The second day of the fair usually began with a

procession of the society's members led by a band, marshalls, and sometimes the local militia unit. Then exercises were held at the local church. These consisted of a religious sermon or patriotic address, the singing of agriculture hymns and pastoral odes, a speech by a guest speaker, and a ceremony during which premium certificates and engraved silver cups were awarded. The day usually closed with a purely social affair, an "Agricultural Ball," where dining, drinking, dancing, and other "innocent festivity" occupied the members of the society and their wives and other invited guests.[18]

The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, refusing to provide any financial assistance to Watson's Berkshire Agricultural Society, adopted his system and held its first fair in 1816. Its example was followed by Northampton, the country seat of Franklin's neighbor, Hampshire County, in 1818, and by Worcester in 1819. Yet, in Franklin County, the first agricultural fair did not occur until 1850.

Financial reasons were not the cause for the delay in Franklin County. As a result of the lobbying efforts of Watson and others, the Massachusetts legislature legislature passed the Act for the Encouragement of Agriculture and Manufactures in 1819, when over one hundred agricultural fairs operated across the country.[19] Every incorporated agricultural society in Massachusetts with one thousand dollars in capital stock was entitled to receive two hundred dollars every October, which was usually used as premiums or for other cattle show expenses.[20] Each society would also received a proportional annual sum of up to six hundred dollars if its capital stock was greater than one thousand dollars. The legislature authorizing these matching aid grants was renewable every five years, and Massachusetts agricultural societies received $115,800 from the state treasury between 1819 and 1845.[21] Only societies serving countries of at least 25,000 inhabitants, however, were eligible for the state grant.[22] According to the U.S. Census of 1810, the total population of Franklin county amounted to 27,421.[23] On the basis of the country population requirement alone, the Franklin Farmers' Association was eligible for the state bounty in 1819. After the results of the 1820 census were made public, it was clear that Franklin County qualified for state grants which were given to any agricultural society owning at least one thousand dollars in capital.[24]

Still, the first agricultural fair of the Connecticut Valley was held in Northampton in 1818 and was sponsored by a tri-country agricultural society rather than in Deerfield or Greenfield, and was not sponsored by the Farmer's Association at all. Joseph Lyman, first president of the Tri-county Agricultural Society, stated in his 1820 address to the society that the multi-county organization resulted from a genuine natural unity

and a harmony of economic interests. A local society such as the Farmers Association did not have a broad enough base of support.[25]

Northhampton, in Hampshire County, was also a more logical choice of locale than either Deerfield or Greenfield in Franklin County, since Northampton was centrally located in the middle of the three countries. Moreover, the gentlemen of Northampton possessed more business experience and capital than did their Franklin County associates. The success of the entrepreneur Elkanah Watson, suggests creating a viable agricultural society required not only a certain amount of community interest and capital, but also leaders who had time and experience enough to organize events like cattle shows and fairs. The failure of the Franklin Agricultural Society and the financial difficulties of the Farmers' Association (it was never able to raise the $1,000 in capital to qualify for the state bounty) illustrated its lack of leadership and capital in Franklin County. Although men like Elihu Hoyt had local prestige and political experience, they apparently did not possess the organizational skills and managerial acumen needed to successfully run the business of an agricultural society. Henry Colman, the Agricultural Commissioner for the Commonwealth, noted in 1841 Franklin County's failure to participate actively in the Tri-County Society's affairs.[26]

In the 1820s, Franklin County's economy was too raw to have yet generated a sophisticated level of interest, capital, and business acumen. The area was not poor, but it was young. Too much of its capital was invested in the building of farms and the economic infrastructure that would make these farms profitable operations. There were indeed a number of prosperous farms and farmers in Franklin County in the 1820s, but there was too little liquid capital to support such a project as a country fair. Northampton had already begun to pass from commercial agriculture to industrialization.[27] Northampton entrepreneurs learned from the Boston merchants with whom they dealt, and began to realize benefits from coordinating and rationalizing systems of production and distribution. Franklin County farmers had far less control over the variables that affected their livelihood. They were not as familiar with inter-community cooperation outside of kinship ties. Businessmen had no choice but to set up far flung networks and to work with a variety of people. But most farmers worked only with their families, their neighbors, and a few local shopkeepers. Working cooperatively with large numbers of people, most of whom they had never seen before, was a situation alien to their experience. Thus no agricultural fair was regularly held in Franklin County until the 1850s because too many farmers felt that it was easier to travel fifteen miles down the river to Northampton than to exert themselves by attempting to provide the organizational apparatus necessary for fairs of their own.

Commissioner Henry Colman chided Franklin County farmers for their neglect of progressive farming techniques. Many were very interested in agricultural societies and fairs and agricultural improvement; but only a few were able to take advantage of the distant Massachusetts Society's Brighton Cattle Show and Fair. Two who were awarded premiums at Brighton in 1819 were Judge Goodale of Bernardston and Dennis Stebbins, a Deerfield selectman for nine years and a major in the militia. The former won twenty five dollars for the second best native bull exhibited at the fair. The latter won thirty dollars for the best crop of potatoes grown in the state, raising 612 bushels on one acre of Deer field's fertile North Meadow. Neither of these men was a dirt-poor farmer struggling to scratch a living from the soil, rather they were comfortable enough to take time out not only to participate in politics but also to travel to Brighton with a prize bull or to experiment with crops and to write elaborate reports summarizing their results.

The Tri-County Agricultural Society, like the old Massachusetts Society, the old Franklin County societies, and even Watson's Berkshire Society, was founded not by average farmers, but by men who possessed business experience, organizational expertise, money, leisure time, and an interest in agricultural improvement.[28] In 1820, Joseph Lyman acknowledged that the Berkshire Society had influenced the Tri-County Society, but contrasted the new societies to the earlier ones.[29] The new societies were confident that they would succeed in bringing scientific agriculture to the masses, he suggested, because they had learned from the mistakes of the elite agricultural societies. The people must be taught the principles of scientific agriculture at their own level through media common to their own rural experiences, not through books and learned studies, which would become important later. He wrote:

> After a few years . . . when excitements are no longer necessary to lead the people to a knowledge of their true interest, giving respectability to the honourable profession of a farmer . . . no further efforts will be required, as all will move in harmony and system . . . Books and science will then become all important, as an auxilliary aid. The great business, in the first stages, is to kindle up a spirit of ambition . . .[30]

The Tri-County Society's fairs were supposed to stir up ambition in farmers. But only the ambitious of Franklin County ever really effectively participated, for it took both money and effort to travel the distance to Hampshire County. Of the seven original members of the society who hailed from Deerfield, six of them could afford to donate twenty five

dollars to become honorary life members. Most of these gentlemen, including the Hoyts, had been members of the Farmers' Association.

Epaphras Hoyt was one of the first vice presidents of the Tri-County Agricultural Society, incorporated on February 16, 1818, who saw from the start that the less affluent farmers of the upland communities of Franklin County's hill country, the people who most needed the knowledge of scientific agricultural improvements which the new society hoped to spread by means of a fair, would be unable to travel the thirty miles to Northampton. Unless something more was done, the Tri-County Fair would prove no more beneficial to these people than had the earlier unsuccessful efforts of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.[31]

Even though agricultural fairs were successful educational institutions because they had mass appeal, not everyone travelled to Northampton on Fair Day. For instance, Edwin Nims was a Deerfield farmer and town clerk in his early forties whose real estate and personal property were valued at $32 in the 1931 town tax lists.[32] He never mentioned attending the Tri-County Fair, nor even made any passing references to it in the agricultural journal he assiduously kept. Neither did Zur Hawks, tanner, currier, farmer, and selectman, whose real and personal estate were valued at $115 in 1820. Surely if these two men had attended such a novel affair as an agricultural fair they would have recorded their impressions of it in their diaries.

A more socially prominent, and apparently wealthier group of Deerfield citizens not only regularly attended the Tri-County Fair at Northampton, but exhibited farm animals and products there, winning thirty-one premiums between 1818 and 1828.[33] Elihu Hoyt won four dollars for the best linen sheeting in 1919. Elija Arm's estate was valued at $376 when he won the premium for the second best bull at the 1818 fair. Rufus Cooley owned real estate and property valued at $263, part of which was a horse for which he won a ten dollar premium in 1821. Elija Williams' estate was valued at $187 when he won two premiums for heifers in 1824. Elish Clapp won one for sows in 1826, when the value of his real estate personal property was entered as $273 in the town tax lists. And Mr. Thomas Dickinson's estate was evaluated at $468 when his wife won gratuitous premiums for hearth rugs and plaids in 1822. All of these people were significantly better off financially than Edwin Nims and Zur Hawks.

There were three different groups of agriculturalists, in Deerfield (and presumably in Franklin County and the rest of New England) although divisions between them were never totally distinct. At the top of society were socially prominent men like the Hoyts, participating actively in the affairs of the Tri-County Society. These men were not necessarily agricultural capitalists willing and able to invest large sums in new

experiments; but they felt a civic responsibility to bring agricultural improvement to their community. Their names appear not only upon lists of benefactors but also sometimes upon premium lists of the society.

The second, much larger, group of Deerfield farmers were generally passive members (if members at all) of the Hampshire, Franklin, Hampden Agricultural Society. Many supplemented their farm income by practicing a second trade, or vice versa. They were certainly interested in the lastest agricultural developments exhibited at the new fair in Northampton and considered the three-hour trip there worth the time and trouble. Names like Elija Arms and Thomas Dickinson appear not only on the Tri-County Agricultural Society's membership list but also time and again on its premium lists.

Finally, there was a smaller group of Deerfield farmers less interested in scientific agriculture, or less able to cope with commercial farming, or who had less daring, capital, and imagination than more progressive farmers. They were content with planting their fields and tending their crops and flocks the same way their fathers and grandfathers had done. They felt that annual membership in the Tri-County Agricultural Society was not worth the two dollars of their hard-earned savings. If they traveled to the Northampton Fair, they did not leave their names on the premium lists to inform us of the fact. They were probably too busy with the time-consuming task of subsistence farming to keep diaries telling of their daily activities. They would have to wait for the Franklin County Fair to open in Greenfield in 1850 before they could reap the full benefits of the new agricultural societies. By then, however, the educational emphasis of the agricultural fair was beginning to become diluted by growing recreational and commercial considerations.

Manufactures gained a greater importance at the expense of farm animals and crops as time went on. The amount of money awarded in premiums for animals, including the plowing match, decreased from $229.50 in 1818 to $191.00 in 1826. The amount of premiums awarded for household and commercial manufactures increased from thirteen dollars in 1818 to $263.00 in 1826. This change in emphasis reflected the growing importance of manufactures in the nation as a whole. As manufacturering establishments gained importance in the rural New England economy, commercialism in general began to play a more obvious role in the fairs. One of the advantages of Watson's fairs was that farmers could buy or sell animals or farm products on exhibit. This was also one of the most valuable aspects of the Brighton Cattle Show.[34] At the 1821 Tri-County Fair a "...public sale [also took place] at all convenient times during both days."[35] The Society, however, made sure that the fair never degenerated simply into a marketplace where farmers could part with whatever surplus they had at a considerable profit. The

fair's proprietors provided farmers with the services of an auctioneer free of charge, but animals and articles to be offered for sale had to be duly registered.[36] The society would allow only the best products to be sold to fairgoers. Commercialism became less subtle when commercial manufacturers used the exhibits as an opportunity to show their wares to the public.

Franklin County farmers were never entirely satisfied with the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society. As early as 1820, some members voiced their discontent:

> Though all agree in the expediency and importance of patronizing their societies, yet it is not to be expected . . . that the farmer will leave his plough or his field . . . to attend an exhibition that will cost him thirty or forty miles in travel. Time is money . . . An institution like this to have its proper and desired effect, should not cover so large an extent of territory, but that all may conveniently attend . . . . We believe that this County, would be better promoted by the formation of a County Society.[37]

In 1821, therefore, members from Franklin and Hampden County formed a committee to confer with the Board of Trustees of the Tri-County Agricultural Society at its annual meeting. They suggested the Society should hold the annual show and fair alternately in the three counties, thus spreading its benefits more evenly. As a compromise, the Society decided to hold its first Horse Show, planned for the spring of 1822, in Greenfield. This exhibit "was very fully attended by citizens from all parts of the old County,[38] and from the neighboring towns in Vermont and New Hampshire."[39] It is interesting to note that Franklin County horses won twelve (or 82%) of the total premiums awarded, and Hampshire horses only two (or 13%) of the fifteen premiums awarded.

Franklin County members were so pleased with the results of the Greenfield Horse Exhibit that they again clamored for the removal of the Tri-County Fair to their town. In October of 1833, the Trustees of the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society finally relented and held the Tri-County Cattle Show and Exhibition in Greenfield that autumn. Like the Horse Show of eleven years earlier, it was a great success. It had all the same features of the Northampton Fair: the exhibits, the plowing match, the procession to the meeting house, the meeting of the society, the awarding of premiums, and even the annual Agricultural Dinner, held at C. Smead's Hotel. The geographic pattern of premiums awarded at the Greenfield Fair repeated that of the 1822 Horse Show.

Again, Greenfield and Franklin County won more than their share of the prizes. Hampshire and Hampden counties suffered proportionately.[40]

By holding the Tri-County Fair in Greenfield in 1833 the Tri-County Society heightened, rather than eased, tensions within its membership. Hampden members soon expressed the same discontent that Franklin members had, and the fair was accordingly held in West Springfield in 1834 and 1839. Although Henry Colman admitted that attendance at and interest in the fair at Northampton had not reached its full potential, the ". . . change of place for the annual show is attended with expense and inconvenience . . ."[41] The Tri-County Society did not wish to lose one-third of its paying membership, but ". . . made this concession to the spirit of progress and the onward march of events. . ." in 1850 when the Franklin County Agricultural Society was finally incorporated.[42]

The economy of Franklin County had slowly matured in the thirty years between the founding of the Farmers' Association in 1820 and the incorporation of the Franklin County Agricultural society in 1850. The coming of the rail road to Greenfield in November of 1846 played a major part in spurring the growth of industry and of commercial agriculture by providing easier and quicker access to markets. Not only that, but by then farmers had gained valuable experience in cooperative ventures and had learned much about agricultural organizations through their membership in the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society. Prosperous Greenfield businessmen, such as Henry W. Clapp, were able to help the organizers of Franklin County's first successful annual agricultural society by offering financial assistance and their business expertise.[43]

With Henry Clapp's help in 1849, a Superintending Committee of three of Greenfield's leaving citizen, George Grennell, L.H. Long, and P. P. Severence, was appointed to obtain subscriptions for the organization of a county society and fair. A notice in the *Gazette and Courier* announced the organization of a "Franklin Farmer's Jubilee," at which over 140 animals were exhibited.[44] But the lack of funds for prizes limited the effectiveness of this fair. There were few exhibits of superior animals and products, for men like Moses Stebbins of Deerfield were apparently more interested in winning premiums and broader recognition than in showing off the results of their hard labors for the mere admiration and edification of the general public. Stebbins brought a fine working oxen to Northampton that year where it won second premium of six dollars, but no mention is made of the beast at the volunteer Greenfield Show held one week earlier. This volunteer show, nonetheless, was the immediate precursor of the Franklin County Agricultural Society Fair which was first held on September 25, 1850.

This first annual Franklin County Fair, and the nine following it, took place on Greenfield's Main Street, with the exhibits of fruit, vegetables, fancy work, and miscellaneous articles in the Town Hall, with the oxen pull up Clay Hill, and with the plowing match on Mr. Alfred Wells's land. This last event according to the *Gazette and Courier*, attracted a crowd of 1,800 people at a time when the total population of the town was probably just a little more than that. After proceeding to the Brick Church, escorted by the Greenfield Brass Band, the society's members were blessed by the minister and listened to an address by the Honorable Joseph T. Buckingham, former editor of the *Boston Courier*. From there they then marched to the American House were Major Keith served the Agricultural Dinner at a cost of fifty cents per person.

The first reference made to any agricultural society or fair in the half-dozen Deerfield diaries examined was to this first annual Greenfield fair, and was recorded in Julius C. Robbins's weatherbook and diary. His experiences probably typify those of most Deerfield farmers, at least with regard to agricultural fairs. Since he never mentioned the Berkshire, Brighton, or Northampton fairs, the first one he probably attended was the 1850 Greenfield fair. On September 25, 1850, he wrote, "Clear. To Greenfield to the Cattle Show for the first time. Cattle aplenty and other things in proportion." He again attended the fair the following year, when he mentioned in October 15's entry only the oxen pull, horse exhibit, and plowing match. Robbins naturally wrote only about those parts of the fair which most interested him. In October of 1852, the account book of the Franklin County Agricultural Society listed, "Received $5 from Julius Robbins for subscription." On Thursday, October 30 of that year, Robbins wrote in his diary, "Clear and warm. The fair the second day. Address by Professor Mapes of New York." After he had become a part of that exclusive audience of farmers who were privileged as members of the society to attend the guest speaker's lecture, Robbins no longer mentioned the plowing matches and oxen pulls in his diary.[45]

Since he made no mention of the Franklin County Fair in 1853 and 1854, he probably did not attend. On October 4, 1855, however, he recorded, "Cloudy and rainy throughout the day. Got the first premium on apples." Sure enough, this was reported in the *Franklin Democrat*: "J. and G. W. Robbins, Deerfield, won 1st premium of $1.00 for APPLES NOT LESS THAN THREE VARIETIES."[46] Robbins did not even mention that year's agricultural address. His award overshadowed both the entertaining and educational features of the fair like the oxen pull and the plowing match and the informative lecture. Robbins, like others, became more concerned with the lure of the premium award than with the educa tional and entertaining aspects of the agricultural fair.

The growing number of purely social diversions at the Franklin County Fair from 1850 to 1856 suggests that the Franklin Agricultural Society saw it as their mission to entertain the farmer as well as to educate him. Henry W. Cushman of Bernardston, who was chosen president of the society in January, 1851, and then donated one thousand dollars worth of Franklin County Bank stock to its treasury, clearly stated this in 1853.

> An agricultural society . . . like or own, has two great objects in view. First, to extend the area of a knowledge of practical farming [and] to show what can be done by the application of science in the improvement of the soil . . .
>
> And a second object of this society, not less important . . . is to furnish a rational, well-conducted and improving holiday for the whole people . . . . The farming population of New England have not sufficient days of relaxation and amusement. . . A change of occupation, of employment, of place, as well as of air, are . . .necessary to our social and moral well-being, and to our health and happiness generally . . . If rational amusements are at hand they will be gladly accepted. If not, then the young, the inexperienced, the gay and volatile will be drawn off to scenes far less improving than what we have witnessed the two days past.[47]

Farm families had always looked forward to Fair Day as a day of fun. First, of course, there were the old plowing matches and oxen pulls. Fairgoers still enjoyed watching the oxen, and by the 1850s, the horses, pull cast iron plows or the new steel plows of the midwest through the earth. Wagers, of course, increased the excitement. There was hardly anything more impressive than witnessing the brute force of the oxen struggle with two ton wagons or stone boats up Clay Hill or the town teams of up to fifty-one yoke of oxen lumber down Main Street decorated with flags, farm and garden produce and usually carrying a full complement of school children.

Any type of athletic competition drew an excited crowd. At first these contests usually were spontaneous events such as foot races and impromptu wrestling matches.[48] Then boys and girls raced to catch a greased pig. Soon racing became more formalized.[49] Since they were so much faster and more graceful, horses became extremely popular at fairs. At first, people were satisfied merely with the exhibiting of horses, as the success of the 1822 Tri-County Horse Show demonstrated. As the years progressed, more premiums were awarded for horses, the categories became more specific.[50] In 1855, "Main Street was lined early the whole

length with an anxious, eager, curious, wet and excited multitude'' to watch the horses parade by.[51]

In that year, the Greenfield fair's exhibition of horses faced stiff competition in hold the crowd's attention and monopolizing equestrian excitement. On Cattle Show Thursday, the Welch and Lent Circus, ''The two largest and most popular Equestrian Establishments in the world,'' came to town. ''About noon, the Circus came poaching up Clay Hill with their horses -- wagons --tents -- . . . -- monkeys and music, to the great gratification of the boys and the great annoyance of the assembly in the Church.''[52] The assembly in the church was, of course, the Franklin County Agricultural Society, trying to listen to the address of the Honorable Charles L. Flint of Boston. No doubt the fact that the circus was drawing away paying customers from the fair also worried them.

The society began to realize more fully the money-making potential of the Fair, and felt that it had to compete with other popular forms of organized public entertainment, such as the circus or the Fireman's muster. The follow ing quotation hints at the reason why: ''There were 15 cars from the east well-filled with passengers on Thursday morning, and a good turnout from the south...''[53] The Franklin County Agricultural Society had to attract these train-transported crowds in order to make enough money to stay afloat financially. Serious farmers were members of the society and paid a one-time five dollar membership fee. For the rest of their lives they participated in the society's fair free of charge. Only non-members were charged admission fees (raised to ten cents in 1855) or had to pay to exhibit anything for premiums.

The failure to charge members for attendance at the fairs guaranteed the decline of the importance of agriculture in the Franklin County Agricultural Fair. To increase its revenues, the society had to attract more outsiders to the fair. These crowds of outsiders consisted increasingly of non-farmers who were interested only in the more exciting diversions of the county fair. the result was that the fair's organizers concentrated their attention more and more upon such features as horse racing. In 1860, the Society purchased five acres of land, and developed this, and an additional five and one-half acres acquired for three thousand dollars in 1862, into permanent fairgrounds, giving first priority to a one-third mile trotting track.[54]

The Franklin County Fair drew large crowds of people even before the society owned a horse track, when races were held in the street. The presence of Governor Gardner in 1856 boosted attendance to not less than six thousand persons. In 1852, the society collected $141.31 at the door of the Town Hall exhibits. In 1855, receipts climbed to over $193.11. President Cushman said at the Agricultural Dinner in 1855 that ''...our Cattle Show and Fair has become a settled and permanent institution

among us. Within the last five years, it has nearly quadrupled the number of its members and has increased its permanent fund from $1,500 to $5,000."[55]

People other than the fair's proprietors began to take advantage of the crowds which were annually generated in Greenfield every Fair Day. Merchants and manufacturers saw the fair's enormous commercial possibilities. These entrepreneurs were satisfied, at first, merely with showing their goods. The exhibits of "Miscellaneous Articles" were a cheap and effective way to bring their products to the attention of the public. This is illustrated by the *Gazette and Courier's* account of the first Franklin County fair held in 1850, which included a list of objects submitted for prizes and reported on by the Committee on Miscellaneous Articles. The committee members certainly did their best to plug each worthy product, many of which would never have been found at earlier fairs.[56] Many objects exhibited in 1850 were manufactured in places of business for sale to the public and not, as was the case previously, in the home for domestic consumption. In addition to the merchandising of commercial products at the fair itself, many merchants placed advertisements in the Greenfield newspapers to take advantage of the popularity of the Franklin County Fair.[57]

Merchants and manufacturers were not the only ones who saw the commercial benefits of the Greenfield Fair. There were other fundraising activities. In 1856, the ladies of the town set up a table to sell refreshments, the proceeds of which were sent to the aid of the poor in Kansas.[58] Other efforts at the fair probably had even more obvious political implications than the fund-raiser to keep Bleeding Kansas free territory. The autumn fairs early on became a forum where campaigning politicians could address the crowds before election day.

As the Franklin County Fair developed in Greenfield during the 1850s, many different groups of people came to enjoy its benefits. In this respect, it differed from Elkanah Watson's original agricultural fairs of forty years earlier, which were founded to educate a rural population made up almost entirely of farmers, and from the Tri-County Fairs in Northampton, which still had at heart the basic interests of the farmer. As it evolved as an institution, the recreational and commercial aspects of the Greenfield Fair appealed to a growing number of non-farmers.

The Franklin County Agricultural Society had moved from the status of a volunteer association of farmers to a society headed by businessmen. In order to help the society navigate through difficult financial straits, the fair began to be regarded by the society's trustees as an income generator rather than an educational forum. How would the society be able to educate anybody about scientific agriculture if it was forced to dissolve because of financial difficulties, as had the two preceeding Franklin

County agricultural societies? Why not attract the many people who paid to attend the fair by catering to their tastes, even if they sought entertainment more than education? The non-paying farmer member of the society would continue to attend the fair until a more effective institution of agricultural education appeared. Then they would still continue to attend the fair as it was one of the few rural institutions of recreation available.

The shifting emphasis of the Greenfield Fair in the 1850s reflected the changes taking place in the Franklin County Agricultural Society at that time. During that decade, the membership of the society expanded significantly. Many of the new members were still representative of the middle group of Deerfielders: farmers who socially, intellectually, and financially well-off. Over the years, however, an increasing number, were only marginally concerned with agriculture. In 1855, the following lines appeared in the *Franklin Democrat*: "Above all, let us hope to see an earnest response from our Manufacturers and Mechanics, as from these departments we are to look in future years for the backbone of our Society."[59]

An editorial in an undated newspaper clipping at the Greenfield Historical Society superbly illustrates the declining influence of the farmer in a society founded in the first place for his benefit.

> The fact is the people most interested in the welfare of the society -- the farmers -- have been doing their best to kill it. They are, most of them, life members -- which means they and their families don't pay admission except on benefit day . . . [when] they are absent . . . They are simply encrusted with selfishness and embalmed in antiquated ideas of the divinity of the farmer . . . . The fact is that our society is now a rotting corpse which the enterprise of Greenfield businessmen has been carrying about in the annual coaching parade . . . . The society is now $3,300 in debt. A company of businessmen might perhaps manage the annual cattle show wisely and have the affair on a paying basis. But an unwieldy mass of long-lived life members from the farms of the hill towns -- never![60]

Franklin County's experience with agricultural societies in the antebellum era was not unique. All across the new nation as American farmers returned from the battlefields of the Revolutionary War to their own long-neglected fields, some desperately sought to learn what new agricultural techniques their former foes, the British, were then advancing. Farmers in the more remote agricultural regions, such as the

Connecticut River Valley in Western Massachusetts, became impatient with the ineffectual efforts of the first agricultural societies, made up chiefly of the leaders of the Revolution, to disseminate that knowledge. Instead of looking east to the Boston elite of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, these men turned their attention westward to Pittsfield in Berkshire County where more egalitarian agricultural societies were being founded by Elkanah Watson, who carefully considered the rural experience.

Franklin County farmers, however, could not immediately adapt the chief feature of the Berkshire Society, the agricultural fair, to their own existing local agricultural societies because they lacked in the 1820s the necessary liquid capital, business experience, and organizational expertise. For thirty years, therefore, they shared the Northampton Fair with the more economically mature neighboring counties of Hampshire and Hampden to their south. This was obviously a marriage of convenience. It is not surprising that a break-up occurred, but that it was so long in coming.

When Franklin farmers finally held their own agricultural fair in Greenfield in 1850, they soon discovered the pitfalls involved in sustaining an agricultural society through the support of the people instead of through the endowments of a generous elite. In order to preserve their agricultural association, they had to ensure that the fair, their only regular source of income, was a profitable venture. Businessmen in the society therefore saw to it that the fairs would attract paying customers, non-farming outsiders brought to Greenfield by the new railroad to enjoy themselves at the fair, and merchants and manufacturers interested in using the fair's exhibits as a showplace for their products.

The educational mission of the Franklin County Fair was taken over by other rural institutions in the second half of the nineteenth century. The United States Congress passed the Morrill Act in 1862, granting each state at least 30,000 acres for the endowment, support, and maintenance of a college. In 1863 Massachusetts received 360,000 acres of federal land and purchased four hundred acres in Amherst for the Massachusetts Agricultural College, which received its first class in 1867. In 1882 the State Agricultural Experiment Station was established also in Amherst to carry on extensive research in agricultural areas. It superseded the premium program for agricultural experimentation of the agricultural societies.

The process of agricultural innovation and diffusion, then, was effectively removed from the agricultural societies after 1860, and became institutionalized first in agricultural schools and academies and later in colleges and experimental stations. Naturally, the educational aim of the agricultural fair became somewhat muted, but it did not cease to exist

entirely. Just as Elkanah Watson had predicted in the early 1800s, Massachusetts farmers had acquired a degree of sophistication, and no longer relied upon the exhibits and lectures of the agricultural fair to inform them of scientific advances. Instead, they depended upon the new State Board of Agriculture which distributed the reports and papers of the institutions conducting agricultural experiments.

Even so, they did not stop attending the county fairs. By the 1860s, the fair had become an indispensible part of the rural tradition each fall, and provided amusement, social diversion, and commercial opportunity. The educational aspect of the fair did not disappear entirely. It merely became more subtle. Today, the Franklin County Fair continues to teach, by celebrating the agricultural nature of rural living, and by showing that, in the midst of great technological changes, a natural continuity and simplicity based upon the land still exists. Julius C. Robbins would be happy to know that there are still "cattle aplenty and other things in proportion" every autumn at the Franklin County Agricultural Society's fairgrounds in Greenfield.

NOTES

[1] This article originated as a research project undertaken while the author held a 1982 Historic Deerfield, Inc. Summer Fellowship, and was prepared for publication with the assistance of the 1983 Elizabeth Fuller Fellowship from that institution. The author would like to take this opportunity to thank J. Ritchie Garrison of Historic Deerfield and Joseph Criscenti of Boston College for their valuable assistance and insights, and the Memorial Libraries at Historic Deerfield, the Greenfield Historical Society, the Franklin County Agricultural Society, and the Massachusetts Historical Society for use of their collections.

[2] For instance, Washington wrote that "It must be obvious to every man who considers the agriculture of the country (even in the best improved parts of it) and compares the produce of our lands with those of other countries...how miserably defective we are in the management of them; and that if we do not fall upon a better mode of treating them, how ruinous it will prove to the landed interest. Ages will not produce a systematic change without public attention and encouragement...If [eastern farmers]...were taught how to improve the old, instead of going in pursuit of new and productive soil, they would make those acres which now scarcely yield them anything, turn out beneficial to them...and to the community generally by the influx of wealth resulting therefrom." From David Matteson, "Washington the Farmer" in Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Honor To George Washington* (Washington, D.C., 1932), 38.

[3] The First British association devoted to agricultural improvement, the Improvers Society of Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, was founded in 1723. In 1777 the Bath and West of England Agricultural Society was organized, as was the Highland Agricultural Society. The latter became a national organization in 1784 under the name of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland; see Rodney H. True, "The Early Development of Agricultural Societies in the United States," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1920* (Washington, D.C., 1925), 293-306.

[4] The first American agricultural society was founded in Charleston, South Carolina in 1784, and the second was incorporated in Philadelphia in 1785. The New York Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, Manufactures and the Arts, which counted among its members Elkanah Watson, later "Father of the Modern Agricultural Fair," was organized in 1791. Governor James Sullivan, Samuel Adams, Charles Bulfinch, Christopher Gore, and twenty-four other leading Bostonians were incorporated as the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture on 7 March 1792; see True, "Agricultural Societies" and pages 184-195 of Percy Wells Bidwell and John I. Falconer's *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington D.C., 1925), a somewhat dated study of the agricultural economy of early America. Clarence H. Danhof's *Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) is a more recent and more dependable work which considers the agricultural economy of antebellum New England. Other volumes indispensible to th study of early nineteenth-century agriculture include: Paul W. Gates, *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860* (New York, 1960); Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (Philadelphia, 1974); Wayne Caldwell Neely, *The Agricultural Fair* (New York, 1935); Howard S. Russel, *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England* (Hanover, N.H., 1976); Joseph Schafer, *The Social History of American Agriculture* (New York, 1970); and Alfred Charles True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States, 1785-1925* (Washington, D.C., 1929).

[5] Elkanah Watson, *History of Agricultural Societies on the Modern Berkshire System* (Albany, New York, 1820), 364; Watson was interested most in promoting the importation and propagation of spanish merino sheep, a fine-wooled, long-fleeced breed, when he exhibited two of the critters on Pittsfield Common in 1807. In 1810 he organized a larger exhibition of livestock. This was so successful, it led to the formation of the Berkshire Agricultural Society in 1811, whose chief function was to organize annual animal shows and exhibitions of farm products and domestic manufactures. Watson was an effective publicist and he aided other communities in setting up their own agricultural fairs and societies by lobbying successfully for state support of the new organizations; see Neely, *The Agricultural Fair*, 57-71, Watson, *Agricultural Societies*, and Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution* (New York, 1856).

[6] See Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York, 1955), 23-46.

[7] Neely, *The Agricultural Fair*, 189-190; J.E.A. Smith, *The History of Pittsfield* (Springfield, Mass., 1876), 333.

[8] Neely, *The Agricultural Fair*, 45-46.

[9] Watson, *Agricultural Societies*, 131; The following notice was published in the *Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal*, 4 (June 1816), 204: "This *Cattle Show* [at Brighton] will draw together a great collection of persons and thus will much facilitate the sale of. . . cattle and [it will] also [be seen] that the animals, which shall command the prizes, will sell at very much enhanced prices . . . at Boston market."

[10] Watson, *Agricultural Societies*, 182.

[11] Ibid., 132.

[12] In 1673 the town of Deerfield was founded under the name of Pocumtuck by settlers who continued to suffer at the hands of the French and Indians until 1746. See George Sheldon, *A History of Deerfield* (2v., Greenfield, Mass., 1896), 1, 280-312. Due to George Sheldon's respect for (or obsession with) the past and to the efforts of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association (hereafter referred to as he P.V.M.A.), many valuable papers and documents, including agricultural

periods, proceedings of agricultural societies, and farmers' diaries and daybooks, were collected in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and saved for posterity's sake in the P.V.M.A. Library in Deerfield.

[13] *Franklin Herald*, 1 February 1814.

[14] *Franklin Herald*, 30 August 1814. The original list of the library's holdings can be found in Franklin Agricultural Society, 5-VI, P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield, Mass.

[15] Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, Record Book 3, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[16] *Franklin Herald*, 7 November 1820.

[17] Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press*, 1819-1860 (Philadelphia, 1974), 215.

[18] See Watson, *The History of Modern Agricultural Societies*, 118-169 for his own account of the development of the first Berkshire Fairs. Neely, 51-82.

[19] Elkanah Watson, *Agricultural Societies*, 138-9.

[20] From Daniel W. Baker's ms., "Legislation as to Bounties to Agricultural Societies," 1873, in Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture records, Box 33, Massachusetts Historical Society. Section V of Chapter 114 of the Acts of 1819 specifically states that "The societies shall offer annually by way of premiums or shall apply otherwise at their discretion for the improvement of agriculture or manufactures, a sum not less than that received...And must annually transmit to the office of the secretary of state a statement of expenditures of said money with such general observations concerning agriculture and manufactures as they may deem important or useful."

[21] Bidwell and Falconer, op.cit., 189.

[22] See Henry Colman, *Fourth Report of the Agriculture of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1841), 72.

[23] John Hayward, *A Gazetteer of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1874), 322-325.

[24] By 1820 Hampden's population had grown to 28,021 people, Hampshire's to 26,478 and Franklin's to 29,630. See Hayward, op.cit., 322-325.

[25] J. H. Lyman, *An Address Delivered Before the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society*, 25 October 1820 (Northampton, Mass., 1820), "Our early association, the nature of our pursuits, and the topography of our territory, facilitate union of action. Intersected in the centre by a noble stream, furnishing of each side a rich interval for mowing and arable, and bounded east and west by ranges of towns admirably adapted to grazing and the raising of stock, our territory embraces the vender and the purchaser, and associates them in the same community."

[26] "The farmers of Franklin County...have been most censurably negligent...and have shown a culpable want of interest in the management and success of this society...so little labor or attention have they been willing to bestow on its concerns..." Colman, fourth report, 184.

[27] Only in 1822 had the first bank been organized in Greenfield. The first one in Northampton was organized in 1813. In 1833, there was still only one bank in Northampton, with a combined capital of over $200,000. Joseph Lyman, first president of the Tri-County Agricultural Society, was also founding president of the Northampton National Bank. From John H. Lockwood, ed., *Western Massachusetts: A History*, 1636-1925 (New York, 1926), 394-5, 664.

[28] The following article concerning the Tri-County Society was reprinted from the *Hampshire Gazette: "Men of fortune and influence* must lend their aid, and...they will erect a durable monument...whose base will be the prosperity and whose inscription the gratitude of their fellow citizens." *Franklin Herald*, 3

February 1818. Of the Berkshire Society, the newspaper wrote: "...two beautiful Heifers of the Devonshire breed [were] exhibited and although purchased at...the speculation may be a profitable one to the enterprising owner. It is extremely desirable that *the most wealthy and opulent farmers* in Berkshire may...appreciate the advantages...to the whole community, from similar exertions." *Franklin Herald*, 22 October 1822. (Italics mine).

[29] "The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture, a similar society in Pennsylvania, and a few others, were early organized - but we witnessed little of their effects; and there still continued an extreme apathy among us, until our brethren in Berkshire...became the honorable and proximate cause of the interest which is now felt...To that society we are unquestionably deeply indebted..." Lyman, op. cit., 40.

[30] Watson best explained the philosophy of the new agricultural societies on page 160 of his *Agricultural Societies*: "[A] different organization, to seize upon the human heart, to animate, and excite a lively spirit of competition, giving a direction to measures of generality, became indispensible. To do this, - some eclat was necessary - music, dancing, and singing, intermixt with religious exercises and measures of solidity, so as to meet the feelings of very class of the community. . . . ".

[31] A close look at the lists of premiums awarded at the Tri-County Fair (as printed in the Greenfield newspapers for 1818 to 1828) and at the diaries and journals of several Deerfield farmers shows who from Franklin County participated in the Northampton Fair. It does not provide a wholly accurate representation, for obviously many more people attended the fair than those who won premiums. But it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify those who exhibited animals or products without having won anything for their efforts or the anonymous majority of fairgoers who did not enter any competitions.

[32] These and the following valuations were taken from the "Tax and Valuation Lists of the Town of Deerfield," 1813 to 1850, on microfilm at the P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield.

[33] The following figures show that the benefits of the Tri-County Fair were not spread equally between the three countries. Although Franklin County made up 33% of the total population of the three countries, only 13% of the total number of premiums awarded at the Fair between 1818 and 1826 went to Franklin County farmers. Hampshire County, on the other hand, although consisting of only 32% of the population, won over 73% of the premiums.

[34] The Fair's proprietors advertised that ". . . this *Cattle Show* will draw together a great collection of persons and thus will much facilitate the sale of their cattle, and . . .the animals, which shall command the prizes, will sell at very much enhanced prices . . ." *Massachusetts Repository*, IV (June 1816), 204.

[35] *Franklin Herald*, 9 October 1821.

[36] *Franklin Herald*, 16 October 1821.

[37] *Franklin Herald*, 31 October 1820.

[38] Hampshire County once consisted of all the territory of the three countries. Franklin County was formed in 1811, Hampden in 1812.

[39] *Franklin Herald*, 4 June 1822.

[40] Letters such as this appeared in the local newspapers; "The Show at Northampton is too distant for our farmers of the northern towns to drive their cattle, or conveniently convey other articles for exhibition. Hency they had seldom participated in it, and of course have been shut out from its benefits. Such an anniversary here would remove this difficulty, and engage the interest of very many first rate farmers and skillful mechanics." *Greenfield Gazette and Franklin Herald*, 2 November 1830.

[41] Colman, *Fourth Report*, 184.

[42] *37th Report of the Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden Agricultural Society* (Northampton, 1855), 7.

[43] Clapp practically ran Greenfield in the late 1840s. "He never would accept political office, but was president of the Greenfield Bank...the Green River Cemetary Company, the Greenfield Gas Light Company, the Franklin Savings, Institution and of the Connecticut River Railroad Company." Francis M. Thompson, *History of Greenfield*, 1682-1900 (Greenfield, 1904) 874-48.

[44] *Gazette and Courier*, 8 October 1849.

[45] Julius C. Robbins, *Diary and Weatherbook*, 25 September 1850, P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield.

[46] *Franklin Democrat*, 8 October 1855.

[47] *Transactions of the Franklin County Agricultural Society for the Year 1853* (Greenfield, 1853), 30-31.

[48] Euclid E. Owen reminisced on page 1627 of Thompson's *History of Greenfield*, "In the earlier days when the County Fair were held on the Common, [I]...was a winner of many matches even when advanced in years." in 1856.

[49] "The race on the new Trotting Park on Petty's Plain caused considerable sport, as it was entirely a new thing...The race...was for $5. There were seven who entered to run...the distance...[of] half a mile." *Franklin Democrat*, 6 September 1856.

[50] In 1820, the first year the Tri-County Society had a Committee Upon Horses and Colts, they awarded premiums for the best horse, the next best, and the best two year old colt. By 1856, the Franklin County Agricultural Society awarded twenty six premiums for a total of $66.50 for horses in the following categories: Stud horses, breeding mares, three year old colts, two year old colts, one year old colts, saddle horses, draft horses, carriage horses, and geldings.

[51] *Franklin Democrat*, 8 October 1855.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] See entry for 6 February, 1856 in ms., Minutebook of the Franklin County Agricultural Society, located in the Franklin County Agricultural Society Offices, Greenfield, 1948).

[55] *Franklin Democrat*, 8 October 1855.

[56] *Gazette and Courier*, 30 September 1850.

[57] The first such advertisement appeared on September 30, 1850, in the *Gazette and Courier*: "At the late fair in this place, S.H. Colton of Worcester, offered for exhibition...choice Apples and...Pears...Now is the time to send in your orders." By 1863, those ads were no longer addressed specific ally to farmers: "Strangers visiting Greenfield on the days of annual cattle Show, are invited to call the *Cheap Cash Bookstore...*" *Gazette and Courier*, 3 October 1853.

[58] See the *Franklin Democrat*, 6 September 1856, and Thompson, *History of Greenfield*, 1171.

[59] *Franklin Democrat*, 24 September 1855. " . . . a case of most beautiful and natural looking teeth manufactured by Doct. J. Beals of Greenfield, surpassing in appearance and excellence too . . .anything we have ever seen. To any person in whom the "sound of the grinders is low," we would recommend Doct. Beals . . . life-like Daguerrotypes, taken by Popkins of the Franklin Daguerrean Gallery . . . These pictures for finish, shade and coloring, are unsurpassed, and we are not surprised his gallery is thronged . . . a beautiful assortment of Hats and Caps. . . exhibited by A. Pond and Co. of this town . . .[and] a large and well-filled case of

Gentlemen's furnishing Goods produced by Messrs. Rust & Clark . . .[who] draw their premiums constantly for a higher source than this society, to wit: directly from the people, in ready trade to satisfied customers.''

[60] This excerpt probably dates from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, since it mentions coaching, a gentleman's sport popular between 1870 and 1920. However, the feelings expressed are relevant to this study of the late 1850s and early 1860s.

Towazugatari

Makiko Fugiwara

Japanese literary works of the Kamakura period (1185-1392) are often regarded as a degeneration of aristocratic literature or the rise of a new common people's literature. Contemporaries viewed this popularization of literature as a lowering of literary quality. Even the term *shominteki bungaki* (literature of the common people) has a negative connotation. *Towazugatari*, written by Lady Nijō in about 1307, is a work which transcends this degeneration and manifests the transitional characteristics of Kamakura literature in a positive manner. *Towazugatar*i is perhaps one of the most significant works of medieval Japan next to the *Tale of Genji*, which was so popular during the Heian period.

The late Heian court, which preceded the Kamakura court, was characterized by its pessimism, despite a flowering of aristocratic culture. This was partly due to the decline in the power of the central government. As the old order began to crumble, a new warrior class took its place. This shift to a feudal type structure was evident during the Kamakura period. The ultimate manifestation of Heian pessimism can be found in the recurrent idea of *mujō* (impermanence) in Heian court literature where death was regarded not as a gruesome event, but as an artistic one. In *waka* poetry, Heian court aristocrats found the possibility of eliciting a beauty from death that transformed it into something positive rather than negative.[1]

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Even after the establishment of the Kamakura government in 1192, Japan was destined to continue experiencing turbulence and warfare. In the provinces, sporadic revolts occurred. On the Inland Sea, there was rampant piracy. Daylight robbers frequented the streets of the capital. Even Buddhist priests in monasteries came down from the mountains for raids. Furthermore, there occurred epidemics, famines, storms, and earthquakes over which people had no control. Such depressing events certainly affected people in the imperial court of Kamakura, who were deprived of the political and economic power to which they had become accustomed.

All these calamities caused a sense of anxiety in the aristocrats, making them realize that they indeed lived in the midst of the 'latter days of the Law' (*Mappō*). It was, therefore, only natural that the interest in Buddhism as a means of salvation from a corrupt world and obtaining rebirth in the Pure Land prevailed more and more in this period. Those who did not turn to Buddhism could do nothing but sink into a state of decadent pleasure, enjoying the present unemcumbered with any thoughts of the future.

At the same time, aristocrats in the Kamakura period showed an excessive nostalgia which sprang from the undeniable realization that old institutions were steadily crumbling. The last thing that the aristocrats could do was to cling to their sense of cultural supremacy. This tendancy is best seen in their attitudes towards *waka* poetry. As Katō has pointed out, *waka* poetry was by this time institutionalized, and was the pivot around which aristocratic culture revolved. Besides poetry, the legacy of the Heian court culture, such as canons of aesthetic judgement and standards of personal behavoir, were all treasured by court nobles even to the extent of sentimental obsession. Needless to say, the *Tale of Genji* was considered a celebrated manifestation of the court nobles' cultural supremacy; and Kamakura aristocrats extensively consulted and referred to the content of the *Tale of Genji* in their everyday lives.[2]

In this world of the declining court, Lady Nijō (1258-?), wrote *Towazugatari* because she could no longer keep her story to herself. *Towazugatari* literally means "unrequested story", which implies the self-confessional character of the story. It consists of five volumes and covers thirty-six years from 1271 to 1306. In the first three volumes, Lady Nijō is one of the court women and faces heartbreak and pain from love affairs and the loss of those who are dear to her. In volumes four and five, Lady Nijō becomes a Buddhist nun and travels extensively to holy places, following the example of the twelfth century poet-priest, Saigyo. The narrative ends in the year 1306.

Lady Nijō was born in 1258 into a family well known for its excellence in poetry.[3] Her father, Masatada, served the Emperor Go-Saga and later

the Emperor GoFukakusa. Nijō's mother, Sukedai, was also of a noble family and had served the Emperor GoFukakusa. Sukedai died when Nijō was only two years old. From that time on she was brought up in the imperial court. At the age of four she was adopted by GoFukakusa and formally became his concubine at the age of fourteen. About the same time, Nijō indicated in her diary that she had a lover whom she nicknamed Yuki no Akebono (literally, Snow Dawn).[4] In fact, he is believed to have actually been Saionji Sanekane, who played an extremely important role at court as the mouthpiece (*kanto moshitsugi*) of the regent. Masatada, Nijō's father, died when Nijō was fifteen. His death was a great loss for Nijō in terms of her personal as well as her social life, since there would no longer be a chance for Nijō to obtain a higher position in the court.[5]

When she was eighteen, Nijō became deeply involved with the prelate of Ninnaji Temple, to whom she gave the nickname Ariake no Tsuki (Dawn Moon). Only three years later he died during an epidemic. At the age of twenty-six, Nijō left the court partly because of GoFukausa's suspicion about the relationship between Nijō and GoFukakusa's half-brother and political antagonist, the emperor Kayeyama, and partly because of the incessant persecution by GoFukakusa's wife, Empress Higashi-Nijoin. Following the example of Saigyo (1112-1190), Nijō set out as a Buddhist nun on travels which lasted for more than fifteen years. She ventured as far as the Sumida River in the East, Zenkoji Temple in the North, Ise Kumano in the South, and Shikoku Itsukushima in the West, making her one of the most extensively traveled persons of the time. During these travels, Nijō encountered GoFukakusa, who had also joined a holy order, and she confessed that she had loved him for many years. GoFukakusa died in 1304 and the last record of Lady Nijō is her attendance at services in 1306 that marked the third anniversary of his death.

In 1940, Lady Nijō's autobiographical account, *Towazugatari*, was accidentally discovered by Yamagishi Tokuhei in the Imperial Household Library. It immediately caught the attention of the literary experts, but its publication was delayed for more than twenty years. The first annotated edition was published in 1966. Since then many scholars have tackled the difficult text and published a considerable number of books and articles.[6] Some scholars have attempted to date the work. Tsugita Kasumi believes that there are great discrepancies in style between the first three volumes and the latter two and therefore that the two parts were written in two different periods.[7] Fukuda Hideichi disagrees with this claim and states that the work was written as a consistent structural whole in one particular period.[8]

Because of its unique content, critics, including some experts, have paid most of their attention to surface matters. They have reduced Lady

Nijō to a "flat character," a mere prostitute, and have completely ignored the richness of her character and her writing. Their comments and opinions of *Towazugatari* have tended to be impressionistic and emotional. S.Nakamura, for example, refers to the work as "a record of a lustful woman in the declining court society."[9] Enchi Fumiko, a female writer, compares the work with the *Tale of Genji* and also concludes that Lady Nijō's life is the manifestation of the decline of aristocratic tradition. Enchi, without commenting on much of the second half of the work, nor giving any literary value to *Towazugatari*, frowns on Lady Nijō's life at court and her 'passive attitude' towards life. Lady Nijō's vivid descriptions of her love affairs, as well as the detailed descriptions of her experiences, such as giving birth, are unknown in the works of other court ladies. This might have given the impression that the work is extraordinary and unconventional in a rather negative sense.[10]

One of the most studied topics is the identification of the characters Lady Nijō calls 'Yuki no Akebono' and 'Ariake no tsuki'. These two figures are believed to be Saionji Sanekane, a grandson of an influential statesman, and Prince Shojō, a high ranking Buddhist priest who was the half brother of the ex-emperor, GoFukakusa. Miyauchi Sanjirō, however, claims that Ariake was Hōjo, a prelate of the Ninnaji, who was very close to GoFukakusa.[11] Miyauchi also states that Nijō was the real mother of Yūgi-in, who is often mentioned in volumes four and five. His arguments, which gave special attention to the use of honorifics, are convincing; but he did not develop them enough before his death. If what Miyauchi believed is correct, interpretations of the work, especially the second half, will be considerably changed.

The second half of the book is a neglected area of study. Some experts believe that Nijō actually did not travel as extensively as she wrote in the work. Fukuda, Hideichi and others believe that Nijō did not go to Zenkōji or Ashizuri-misaki penninsula for pilgimages. However, few question why Nijō included these places in her work.[12] This issue relates to the discussion of whether *Towazugatari* is a natural diary or an art diary. Fukuda discusses the issue and emphasizes that the *Towazugatari* is an art diary. Others regard it as a natural diary.[13]

Fukuda presents the issue of the influence of the *Tale of Genji* on *Towazugatari*. Karen Brazell also draws our attention to this point and gives a few examples of how skillfully Nijō employed the technique of allusion used in the *Tale of Genji* as well as syntactic ambiguities. Fukuda and Brazell, however, do not present a detailed study of this issue.[14]

Most of the fiction of the Kamakura period are so-called *giko monogatari* (pseudo-classical tales), where the modifying work '*gi*' (pseudo) immediately signifies the negative aspect of this genre. Although only ten *monogatari* survived in whole or part, the *Fūyō wakashū* (Wind

and Leaves Collection) (1271) tells us that there were nearly one hundred *monogatari* circulated in the Kamakura period.[15] Quantitatively, therefore, *monogatari* in that period were not in short supply. Qualitatively, they are often not highly regarded due to the fact that they are frequently mere imitations of earlier works of the Heian *monogatari*, especially the *Tale of Genji* which was the most important *monogatari* in the literary history of Japan. They could neither surpass the Heian *monogatari* nor depart from the framework of the earlier *monogatari* literature.

One also finds such imitation in those works known as *nikki* (diaries). It is interesting to note that Bashō considers the *Izayoi nikki* (The Diary of the Waning Moon) by Abutsu ni (1233?-1283?) the last creative work worth mentioning. Bashō, in his *Oi no kobumi* (Manuscript in My Knapsack) (1688) writes that the *Izayoi nikki* is the last truly creative *nikki*, and the rest are mere imitations of earlier *nikki*. Bashō's comment was limited to the works of travel diaries. However, even if we include diaries of court society, such as *Ben no Naishi nikki* (The Diary of Lady Ben, date and authorship unknown) and the *Nakatsukasa no naishi nikki* (The Diary of Lady Nakatsukasa) (1292?), the general evaluation of *nikki* in the Kamakura period is more or less the same as Bashō's comment. Nagazumi, for example, considers *nikki* one of the main streams of medieval literature in Japan. Nagazumi, however, admits that except for the *Izayoi nikki*, most of the diaries written in the Kamakura period make dull reading and display neither creativity nor uniqueness.[16]

Among all these prose works of the Kamakura period, which are imitative and sterile, the *Towazugatari* exhibits its excellence. The significance of this work lies in the fact that although *Towazugatari* basically conforms to the tradition of Heian court literature, it presents the positive heritage of earlier literary works, and strikingly new aspects, which are only found in *Towazugatari*. Most significantly, however, the author's narrative skill, careful structure and technique make *Towazugatari* extremely interesting to read.

Towazugatari is usually categorized under the genre of *nikki* (diaries). *Nikki*, however, should be divided into two types. One is what Miner calls 'natural diaries'. These are day-to-day jottings of events as they more-or-less actually occurred. One of the best examples of this type is the travel diary, *Nittō-guhō-junrei-kōki* (Travel Diary of Pilgrim to China), written by a Buddhist priest, Ennin (Jikaku Daishi) (793-864). With extremely observant eyes, Ennin described in detail the social customs and events he encountered. Ennin, however, did not include any personal feelings in his travel diary.[17]

The other type is the 'art diary', which is "at once related to fact and freed by art." It is extremely important to discriminate 'art diaries' from

'natural diaries'. Unlike 'natural diaries', literary aspects must be taken into consideration, with *tsukuri monogatari* (a narrative tale), or other fictional literary works. This is essential because art diaries share common features with *tsukuri monogatari* much more than with the 'natural diary'. The basic element which distinguishes a Japanese art diary is that the natural diary records facts while the art diary presents an artistic reconstruction of fact participating in or paralleling fiction. Another essential aspect of an art diary is that it contains poems which "heighten the sense of fiction, the air of art, the presumption of literature." Furthermore, art diaries do not employ the daily entry as a formal device.[18]

Towazugatari satisfies each of these three requirements: literary elements, frequent use of poems, and lack of daily entries. Therefore, *Towazugatari* qualifies itself as an art diary. Nijō's conscious arrangement of structure, skillful application of literary techniques to produce tension and depth, and well-versed narratives, suggest the literary excellence of *Towazugatari* as an art diary. Additional evidence that *Towazugatari* is an art diary, rather than a natural diary, can be observed from the following sentences which indicate her motive for writing this work:

> . . . . mi no arisama o hitori omoi itaru mo akazu oboehaberu. . . .kayō no itazuragoto o tsuzuke oki haberi koso.[19]

"I feel unsatiated with pondering about my experience in this life all on my own . . . therefore I kept writing this useless account."[20] This is almost identical to the well-known passages on the art of *monogatari* and the art diary, both of which are of a fictional character. In *Tosa nikki* (Tosa Diary) (935), the first art diary extant, the author, Ki no Tsurayuki, writes on the ninth day of the second month:

> . . . I do not set down these words, nor did I compose the poem, out of mere love of writing. Surely both in China and Japan art is that which is created when we are unable to suppress our feelings.[21]

This indicates that art is created as a result of a spontaneous outpouring of strong feelings on a specific subject.

This passage from the *Tale of Genji* supports Tsurayuki's comment on the art of he novel:

> . . . these diaries and romances which . . . whether for good or ill - not only what he has passed through himself, but even

> events which he has only witnessed or been told of - has moved him to an emotion so passionate that he can no longer keep it shut up in his heart . . . . Again and again something in his own life or in that around him will seem to the writer so important that he cannot bear to let it pass into oblivion.[22]

Nijō, in like fashion, wrote down *Towazugatari* because she could no longer keep the story to herself. When doing so, however, Nijō exercised her literary skills to elevate the work as an 'art diary' from the commonplace to the excellent.

Among literary works of the Kamakura period, there are numerous works extant in which we can detect influences of Heian court literature. All works which belong to the genre of *giko monogatari* show painstaking attempts to follow the grand achievement of the *Tale of Genji*. *Nikki* also present the authors' conscious efforts to continue in the tradition of art diaries such as the *Izumi shikibu nikki* (Diary of Izumi shikibu) (1004), and the *Kagerō nikki* (Gossamer Diary) (974?). Almost all of them, however, failed to demonstrate that their works have anything more to offer than mere formalism. They appear to be mere imitations of the earlier works.

Like other works of Kamakura court literature, while *Towazugatari* goes beyond mere imitation, it still basically belongs to the tradition of Heian court literature. On a superficial level, *Towazugatari* shows nothing particularly new. Nijō exploits the 'art diary' form, an obvious legacy of diary literature whose origin goes back to the *Tosa nikki* of the tenth century. *Towazugatari* also confines its subject matter to love affairs within the aristocratic society in the first three volumes, and the journey in the last two, which are both conventional subjects of Heian court art diaries. Moreover, *Towazugatari* demonstrates two dominant features of Heian art diaries: "a normative role for poetry" and "an awareness of time."[23] The first is supported by the large number of poems; Nijō uses 169 poems "after prose has said all it can, or all that it is decent for it to attempt."[24] The second feature becomes clear with innumerable passages such as: "This year, having turned eighteen, I felt that my year had passed as quickly as a racing horse glimpsed through a crack, as irrevocable as water rushing over rapids."[25] A sentence such as ". . . so distraught that I was 'unaware of the passing of spring',"[26] paradoxically reveals Nijō's extreme awareness of the passing of time.

But *Towazugatari* offers more than a superficial resemblance to earlier literary works. Nijō was the first author to successfully combine the two distinct subject matters of conventional art diaries without losing unity and coherance. This combination of love affairs within court society and a journey with a sincere religious motivation results in a uniquely comingled

air of refined romanticism and a sense of dignity. Unlike Abutsuni, who shows only the poetic formalism associated with the old court aristocracy, Nijō uses poetry as a creative vehicle. One of the techniques frequently employed by Nijō is the use of Buddhist allusions in poems. This technique is similar to that known as *honkadori* (allusive variation). It should be distinguished, however, from conventional *honkadori*. These allusions are cast by words, situations, or concepts within the poem; but rather than referring to other famous poems, Nijō's poems allude to texts and sutras, or concepts, principles, and knowledge which are specifically Buddhist in nature.

For instance, Nijō composes the following poem to mark the forty-nineth day after Ariake's death:

Tsuki o matsu	The long awaited moon
Akatsuki made no	Shall rise on that distant dawn,
Harukasa ni	Now memories of the sun
Ima iru hi no	Just set bring grief.[28]
Kage zo kanashiki[27]	

The above is a seemingly conventional elegy, or love poem. However, 'matsu akatsuki' does not only refer to Nijō's waiting for the dawn, or for the time to meet Ariake again. It also refers to the Buddhist belief of Miroku (the Bodhisattva Maitreya). Miroku was believed to be the future Buddha who would descend from Tusita heaven to save the human race, specifically at dawn, 5670 million years after Buddha's death.[29] The word 'harukasa' (far away both in time and distance) also has multiple meanings. Nijō is sad because she must wait 'for a long time' to meet Ariake who is 'far away' from Nijō. She is impatient because the night is dark, and she longs for the moon. However, Nijō also refers to 'the long-waiting' time when she, Ariake and possibly all humans will be save by Miroku.

Honkadori is appreciated only when a poet and his contemporaries share a knowledge of earlier literary tradition. In a similar manner, allusions to Buddhist themes are fully understood and welcomed only through a considerable amount of common knowledge. Based on the traditional technique of *honkadori*, Nijō applies the same idea to the Buddhist themes. By extensive use of Buddhism allusions in the poems, Nijō succeeds in giving them a rich texture, complexity of imagination, and air of reverence.

In *Towazugatari*, Nijō shows special interest in the concept of salvation in *jōdo* (the Pure Land). There are extensive references in the text to Buddhist concepts and practices pertaining to rebirth in *jōdo*. Nijō especially exhibits a strong concern with the manner in which her close

relatives and friends die. For example, when Emperor GoSaga had taken a turn for the worse, the court people summoned the head priest of the Ojō Temple to instruct him and offer prayers. She says, "But a love of worldly things stayed his heart and blocked the road to repentance. He died . . . without any sign that his heart had been changed by these teachings."[30]

Nijō expresses deep concern and worry over Ariake's life in the transcendental world. When Ariake, the prelate and Nijō's lover, anticipates death, he shows "futile attachment to this world" which distressed her. Nijō pleads with Ariake to pray that they could be born together in paradise. Ariake did not. After Ariake's death Nijō found herself lamenting "our sin -- a sin so deep that Ariake would not pray to be reborn in paradise."[31]

This attitude immediately reminds us of the teaching indicated in *Ōjōyōshū*, written by Genshin (942-1017) in 985, who emphasized the importance of one's manner at the moment of death. However, aristocrats in the Heian period who had been greatly influenced by the teaching of jōdo through Genshin's *Ōjōyōshū* did not indicate a particular interest in this concept. Then, what was the cause of Nijō's pursuit?

One possible answer to this is that Nijō had a different view of death from the one held by aristocrats in the Heian period. This difference changed Nijō's image of the Pure Land as well as her general understanding of the teaching of *jōdo*. Besides her different conception of death, we find a strong implication that her belief in *goryō* (spirits of the dead) influenced Nijō a great deal. *Rinjū* (the moment of death) is the crucial moment in the belief in *goryō*, as in the case of the teaching in *Ōjōyōshū*. Nijō's yearning to be reborn in *jōdo* and her keen interest in the ultimate moment which assures this rebirth, reveals a concern with the transcendental principle in the teaching of *jōdo*, which was reinforced by the conventional aristocrats' belief in *goryō*.

Nijō's view on death was one of the most fundamental influences on her interpretation of life; it further enhanced Nijō's desire to seek salvation in the Pure Land. Along with this personal view of 'death', the belief in *goryō*, which grew stronger as the Heian moved into the Kamakura period, reinforced Nijō's extraordinary interest in the manner in which her close relatives and friends died.

A fundamental difference between Nijō's attitude towards death and the one commonly held by the Heian aristocrats is that, while Nijō perceived death as a merciless end to life in *shigan* (this world) and as the separation between *shigan* from *higan* (the other world), court nobles of the mid-Heian period, who lived in the midst of great prosperity, regarded death as something aesthetic. It is a well known observation that the Heian aristocrats saw their "*momento mori* in live, poignant images like the

scattering of blossoms or the yellowing of autumn leaves, which served to remind them that all beautiful things must soon pass away."[32]

A similar attitude can be seen in the poem composed by Ariwara no Narihira (825-880) when he was weak with illness:

Tsui ni yuku	Though formerly I heard
Michi to wa kanete	About the road that all must travel
Kikishikado	At the inevitable end,
Kinō kyō to wa	I never thought, or felt, today
Omowazarishi o [33]	Would bring that far tomorrow.[34]

Here, Narihira certainly shows a feeble grief over approaching death. We, however, sense that the concept of death has been something alien to him; something that Narihira never contemplated. There is no intense awareness of the tragedy of the phenomenal world, nor fear of death.

The prevailing impression of sadness in works of the mid-Heian period mainly comes from references to the fleeting world described in natural images such as fading blossoms and falling leaves. In the midst of prosperity, aristocrats found no urgent need to refuse this world or embrace the next. Unlike the mid-Heian aristocracy, Nijō confronted the idea of 'death'. Instead of making sentimental poems about the scattering of flowers, Nijō pursued the significance of 'death' in 'this' fleeting world. One glance at Nijō's personal history makes us realize that she was destined to experience the deaths of people to whom she was very close. Nijō lost her mother when she was only two years old. Nijō's father, who lavished on her the "love due three thousand" left Nijō when she was fifteen. Nijō writes, "Nothing I could ever do would erase the grief of this parting. My grief extended even to parting from his mortal remains, but that painful moment was unavoidable."[35]

Nijō's first son by the Emperor GoFukakusa also died. She laments, in the original text, ". . . zengo sōi no wakare, aibetsu-riku no kanashimi, tada mi hitotsu ni todomaru,"[36] which reads, ". . . death in reverse order, separation from the beloved ones: why does such sadness pour on me alone?"[37] Not only her close family members, but also one of Nijō's lovers, Ariake, suddenly passed away, leaving Nijō and their two children behind. Nijō was then only twenty years old.

Lady Nijō learned the most fundamental Buddhist concept, *mujō*, through the painful experiences of losing many close to her. Unlike the sentimental and intellectual conception of *mujō* which mid-Heian aristocrats held, Nijō's realization of *mujō* was extremely realistic, even physical. While Lady Nijō lamented these deaths a great deal, she went further than mere sobbing. She questioned death as a special incident

which separates *shigan* where she had to stay, from *higan* which is the transcendental world where she, as a survivor, could not go with deceased people.

As for the second feature of the diary, 'awareness of time', Nijō extends the traditional conception of time to the level of 'transcendental time', which the Heian aristocrats did not perceive. However, Nijō seriously thought about both 'time' in this world and transcendental time, which follows death. Her awareness of time is certainly a heritage from the early diary works. However, *Towazugatari* clearly shows that the author seriously pondered this new aspect: the significance of transcendental time, though she does not reach the conclusion on her thought.

Nijō laments the State of Impermanency which led her to the State of Suffering. She often ponders her grief and pain: "I know that sorrow is inherent in all things but is grief always like this . . . . so much anguish?"[38] While she believes Buddhist teachings intellectually, her poems show a difficulty in accepting them emotionally:

Yoshi saraba kore mo nabete no narai zo to Omoi nasubeki Yo no tsurasa ka wa[39]	Am I to believe This pain is but the suffering inherent in all life?[40]

Indeed, Nijō constantly confronts the State of Suffering. Physically, Nijō suffers from an unknown disease which makes her worried. Once, her nose suddenly begins to bleed and everything goes black before her eyes. She expresses her anxiety, "I was helped away, and for the next ten days, seriously ill, afraid to ponder why." Here she wonders what karma has brought her to suffer. However, most of the suffering that Nijō has to experience is emotional rather than physical. Nijō says, "Suffering is the nature of human existence, but I felt as though the myriad sufferings said to exist in a single day had all fallen to my lot."[41]

The primal emotional suffering that Nijō experiences is caused by the result of the first state of humans, *mujō*, a loss of loved ones. Nijō is fully aware of death as a special moment which separates 'time in this world' and 'time in the next world.' Her grief is so deep and painful that she even hints of doubt of the existence of the 'next world'. Nijō composes poems such as:

Waga sode no namida no umi yo Mitsuse-gawa ni Nagarete kayoe Kage o da ni min[42]	Endless flow of tears, stream into the rivers of that world And mirror for me there The crossing of his shade.[43]

Ukishizumi Mitsuse-gawa ni mo ose araba Mi o sutete mo ya tazuneyukamashi[44]	Now I'm afloat, now sinking if the streams of the afterworld Hand shoals where we might meet I would hurl my body in to see you.[45]
Koishinobu sode no namida ya Oi-gawa ōse arinaba mi o ya sutemashi[46]	A hidden love and tears Enough to form a river Were there a shoal of meeting I would drown this self of mine.[47]

In these poems, we find that Nijō is "on the verge of breaking down completely." With all her heart, she wished that she could go to the next world where deceased people go. The first and third poems even suggest that Nijō doubts the possibility of going to the 'shoals of meeting' in the next world, which means she questions the very existence of the next world. Nijō expresses her agony by saying, "vexed at the ways of this world, I wanted to sink to the river bottom like a bit of debris."[48]

Nijō's uniqueness with respect to traditional court literature is also seen in her sophisticated description of human psychology. *Kagerō nikki* is the pioneering work in the exploration of all the subtle psychological nuances and emotions associated with the relationships between men and women. After the *Kagerō nikki*, most of the art diarists tended to focus on psychological descriptions of the relations between men and women. In contrast, *Towazugatari* includes a sensitive description of the psychology of men. Nijō's skillful presentation of the emotional struggles between GoFukakusa and Ariake protrays the delicate movement of emotions between close friends of the same sex. *Towazugatari* also addresses the psychological tension between court ladies and gentlemen. One example can be found in the account of the concert modeled after one in the *Tale of Genji*. Here, Nijō's extensive description discloses the intensive interplay between men and women of the court. Thus, Nijō's sensitivity captures the movement of human emotions and psyches beyond those between men and women in love.[49]

The *Tale of Genji* is one of the most important *monogatari* in the literary history of Japan. A well organized structure, one of the *monogatari* elements from the *Tale of Genji*, influenced and benefited *Towazugatari*. Japanese narratives are often compared to *emakimono* (Japanese horizontal scroll), where each segment should be beautiful in and of itself. Like *emakimono*, Japanese traditional prose tends to be a collection of episodes which can stand as completely independent stories.[50] This

tradition contains a danger in that without structural integrity, there can be no artistic unity of the whole. *Nikki* is one form that is apt to fall into this trap largely because it can end up as a mere sequence of daily activities. This is particularly true of a long *nikki*.

Towazugatari excels at attaining artistic unity. Conforming to the traditional literary ideal, many episodes are interesting and attractive as independent stories. At the same time, however, because the concatenation of episodes is carefully designed, they each in turn play essential roles in advancing the plot. The juxtaposition of each is so planned as to elicit tension, anticipation, and depth, making the work extremely interesting to read as a whole. Furthermore, these episodes are closely bound by the coherent development of two main themes which unify the work: Nijō's love for GoFukakusa and her search for inner truth. Another device that Nijō employs to achieve cohesiveness is the use of the first person narrative. This serves to prevent the work from disintegrating into a mere series of less-related episodes.

The most ingenious achievement of Nijō, however, is that she transformed a basically non-fictional 'natural diary' into an excellent piece of art. Indeed, Nijō can be considered the first writer to successfully exercise one of the principles of art by Chikamatsu: "art is something which lies in the slender margin between the real and the unreal."[51]

In order to accomplish this task, Nijō resorts to some inventive literary techniques first developed by Murasaki. One of the most effective of these is 'allusion'.[52] Nijō's allusion is mainly to the *Tale of Genji*. Such allusions to 'Genji' were used by Nijō's contemporaries, so this in itself was nothing new. For example, in the beginning of the work, one of the most apparent allusive parallels is presented in the relationship between Nijō and GoFukakusa. On the day when Nijō becomes his concubine, GoFukakusa tells her that he raised her from childhood eagerly awaiting this day. The reader is immediately reminded of the parallel relationship in *Tale of Genji*: Genji and Murasaki. This allusion echos back when GoFukakusa confesses that he loved Nijō's mother. The imagery association is thus strengthened.

This association of GoFukakusa and Nijō with Genji and Murasaki leads the reader to associate Ariake with Kashiwagi. This anticipation will be confirmed by the description of Ariake's last days. Ariake's last poem:

Mi wa kakute	Body thus consumed by passion
Omoi kienan	May the smoke it leaves
Keburi dani	Drift through the sky
Sonata no sora ni	in your direction.[54]
Nabikidaniseba[53]	

will be associated with Kashiwagi's last poem:

Yukue naki	Though nought of me remains
Sora no keburi to	save smoke drawn out
narinu to mo	across the windless sky,
Omou atari o	yet shall I drift thee
tachi wa hanareji[55]	unerringly amid the
	trackless fields of space.[56]

Furthermore, this allusion is reinforced by the passage describing the mode of Ariake's last letter to Nijō:

> "The box contained a letter, but the brush marks looked more like bird tracks than writing. . . ."[57]

The reader will automatically associate this passage with the description of the letter which Kashiwagi wrote to Nyosan:

> "His reply looked much as though birds with wet feet had walked over the paper."[58]

The painful triangular relationship of Nijō, Ariake and GoFukakusa will be easily associated with the one among Nyosan, Kashiwagi and Genji.[59]

Unlike most of the other writers of her age whose use of allusive parallels is rather sporadic and fragmentary, however, Nijō deliberately uses the technique extensively throughout the work in a well organized manner. This solid build-up gives the reader a strong sense of anticipation, suggestion, and sometimes, tension in the course of development of the narrative. The effect is that the resonance evoked by theses allusions shortens the distance between reality and fiction. Because the *Tale of Genji* is so well known a *monogatari* that most readers would not miss Nijō's allusions, her consistent, well-organized use of such complex parallelisms has a certain impact; it reinforces the effectiveness of this comingling of the real and unreal.

Nijō employs 'dreams' as a means to strengthen this effect even more. Although inclusion of 'dreams' is another literary convention extensively employed by Murasaki and other earlier writers and poets, it was mainly used for creating sustained imagery. It also enhances the illusionary quality of reality in temporal matters as in Buddhist concept. Besides using 'dreams' in the conventional manner to convey a romantic atmosphere and sense of *mujō*, such as "life is more fleeting than a dream within a dream", Nijō uses 'dreams' to produce a strong anticipation and hint at future events.[60] For example, one night Nijō has a dream:

> I dreamed Akebono gave me a silver hair-oil jar, which he proffered on a cypress wood fan bearing a pine tree design. I had accepted this and concealed it in the bosom of my kimono when I was awakened by the dawn bells.[61]

Nijō continues to say that Akebono also had the identical dream. Nijō's skillful use of symbolism in this dream leads readers to anticipate that she may have conceived Akebono's child, which is later confirmed. Nijō constantly uses dreams as prophecies which are always fulfilled in later parts of the work. Nijō, by doing this, transforms dreams as embodiments of the 'unreal' into the unmistakably 'real'. By drawing unreal qualities into undeniable reality, Nijō balances the two extremes and blurs the boundary between the real and unreal.

Nijō absorbed and digested the legacies of earlier literary works. Nurtured by the heritage of literary tradition, she successfully integrates these various literary devices and develops them so as to create a truly unique literary work. Although Nijō builds upon a literary foundation established by her predecessors, she nevertheless presents some distinctive characteristics which cannot be found in earlier court literature.

One of the most striking aspects can be seen in Nijō's broad-perspective approach. Katō Shūichi, in his discussion of the social background to Japanese literature, writes that one peculiarity of Japanese literary history is "the way writers have always been wrapped up with the group to which they belong and their closed-shop attitude towards the other group." This tendency is particularly true in Heian court literature. In the *Makura no sōshi* (The Pillow Book), Sei betrays her contempt of commoners. Michitsuna's mother, in her *Kagerō nikki*, does not even indicate the existence of people other than aristocrats. Even in the celebrated masterpiece of *The Tale of Genji*, there is very little which tells of the lives of people other than aristocrats. This tendency for writers to become integrated into distinct groups continued basically unchanged into the Kamakura period. Lady Nijō, on the other hand, includes characters from a variety of social and professional backgrounds: nuns, prostitutes, dancers, a fan maker, and warriors -- not to mention the people of the court to which she belonged.[62]

Nijō also exhibits her broad-perspective approach in geographical terms. One glance at a list of place names and the illustrative map of her travels confirms this point. Nijō's travel account spans from as far as Itsukushima in the West, Sumida River in the East, Zenkō-ji in the North, and Futami-no-ura in the South. As I have mentioned in the chapter entitled 'Existing Studies', Fukuda and other scholars claim that Nijō actually did not travel to all the places mentioned in the *Towazugatari*. This point, however, is not relevant from a literary viewpoint. The

important fact is that Nijō selects these places for inclusion in her work. They presumably have some significance for her; enough, at least, to lead her to incorporate them into the work. Indeed, Murasaki, in a famous passage on the concept of *monogatari*, states that the author's experience includes "not only what he has passed through himself, but even events which he has only witnessed or been told of."[63]

Nijō interweaves such broad perspectives in characters and places to advance her story. This variety serves to further attract the reader's attention and stir one's curiosity throughout the work. This is indeed a unique technical approach for the literature of the time; it breaks out of the 'in-group' mentality of Japanese literature.

Furthermore, Nijō's broad perspective leads her to capture scenes, which earlier writers of court society completely ignored. For example, all of the earlier writers of Heian court society, as well as her contemporaries, circumscribe one of the most dramatic experiences for any woman: child-bearing. Previously, there was no realistic description. At best, earlier authors express practices and events related to child delivery, such as magical prayers for an easy delivery and ceremonies for felicitations. Michitsuna's mother in her diary spends but one short line to indicate Michitsuna's birth. Murasaki, too, in this respect follows the example of Michitsuna's mother. In the beginning of *Murasaki shikibu nikki* (Diary of Lady Murasaki) (1011?), Murasaki beautifully describes the event of the birth of Shoshi (987-1074). In the description, however, Murasaki concentrates on the public side of the affair, and anxiety over the condition of Shoshi. In her diary, Murasaki totally ignores her own experience with child-birth.[64]

On the other hand, Nijō offers realistic portrayals. The following passage is one of four child-birth accounts described in *Towazugatari*. Here, Akebono helps at Nijō's child-birth:

> After the lamps were lit I suddenly felt that my time was very near. Yet there was no twanging of bows on this occasion; unaided, I suffered under my gowns until, when the late-night bell tolled, I could stand it no longer and tried to get up. 'I'm not sure, but isn't the woman supposed to he held around the waist?' I clung to him as he pulled me up, and the baby was safely delivered.[65]

Katō writes that the tendency of writers to become integrated into groups has the effect of "limiting material in Japanese literature."[66] In this respect, too, Nijō breaks out of this 'in-group' mentality by recounting experiences such as child-bearing -- experiences which no one else dared to illustrate.

Nijō shows her sympathetic nature to people regardless of their social or professional background, such as the disfavored fan maker, wretched dancer, forsaken warrior, and the nun who was fomerly a prostitute. Nijō also describes her misconduct which causes problems and adversely affects her relatives.[67]

Unlike earlier writers of the court society who tended to idealize people or to exclude unattractive and unfavorable aspects of human beings, Nijō includes every feature of human experiences, both good and bad, that she was moved to express. This elevates *Towazugatari* to the level of a large-scale search for the inner truth of human beings. This is exactly what Murasaki expresses as her own theory of the art of the novel.

Thus, *Towazugatari* is an art diary based on Nijō's life. This work clearly develops from the tradition of Heian court literature. Nijō learned sophisticated techniques to describe human psychology from the *Kagerō nikki* and solid structure from the *Tale of Genji*. But above all, Nijō's literary significance lies in the fact that she skillfully synthesizes these various literary devices and develops her own unique literary work. With her consistent use of allusion and dream imagery, Nijō becomes the first writer who creates an 'art diary' which truly walks the fine line between fiction and non-fiction.

NOTES

[1] See George Sansom, *A History of Japan to 1334* (Stanford, 1958) 178. Also, see Ivan Morris, *A World of Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (Dallas, Pa., 1975); William R. LaFleur, "Japan", *Death and Eastern Thought* edit. Frederich H. Holck, (Nashville and New York, 1974), 233; Barbara Ruch, "Medieval Jongleurs and the Making of National Literature." *Japan in Muromachi Age*. eds. John W. Hall and Takashi Toyoda (Berkeley, 1977) 282. Also see, Edward Putzar, *Japanese Literature: A Historical Outline* (Tuscon, Arizona, 1973) 70.

[2] Shūichi Katō, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans. David Chibbett, (Tokyo, 1979) 240.

[3] Genealogical as well as historical studies reveal that the *Towazugatari* is basically in accordance with historical facts. See Kosuke Tamai, *Towazugatari Kenkyū taisei* (Tokyo, 1969) 607-616, Iwao Nakada, *Towazugatari senshaku* (Tokyo, 1966) 21-24. For a discussion of the relationship between the *Towazugatari* and the *Masu kagami* (The Clear Mirror) (1333?), see I. Nakada, 54-56.

[4] Miyauchi disagrees with this interpretation. See Sanjirō Miyauchi, "*Towazugatari* no sakusha to 'Ariake no tsuki': *Towazugatari* isetsu," *Kokugo to kokubungaku* 3 (1976) 38-54.

[5] George Sansom, 479-484; William McCullough, "Japanese Marriage Institutions in the Heian Period," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 27 (1967) 103-167.

[6] *Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyū Nyūmon*, "Nihon Bungaku Zenshi" 3, Chūsei, 265-268 (ed. Teiji Ichiko); Tokyo Daigaku Chūsei Bungaku Kenkyūdai, 269; Shin'ichirō Nakamura, "*Towazugatari* ni yoru ren'ai ron", *Bungaku* 1.35 (1967)

48; Hajime M. Mizuhara, "*Towazugatari* o yomu: Tsuioku to yūgimon'in" 30; Kasumi Tsugita, "Ai to Genjitsu" 90-96.

[7] Kasumi Tsugita, "*Towazugatari* honbunkō", *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, 1 (1962) 37-51.

[8] Fukuda Hideichi "*Towazugatari* no seiritsu sonota ni kansuru shiron" *Kokugo to kokubungaku*, 7 (1972) 28-29. In his article, Fukuda mentions that Yasushi Matsumoto and Tokujirō Tomikura shared his view on this point.

[9] See Shin'ichirō Nakamura in *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to Kanshō*, 7 (1968) 186-189; Yasushi Matsumoto and Shōichi Nagano, "*Towazugatari*"; Teiji Ichiko, *Chūsei bungaku kenkyū myūmon* (Tokyo, 1965) 269.

[10] Fumiko Enchi, "*Towazugatari* ni yosete", *Asahi Shinbun*, 23 March 1967, evening edition, 9 col. 1. Hiroko Takenishi, a female critic-writer, is caught by the same realistic description of the births. She evaluates such descriptions as positive, not only because the material is unconventional, but also because of how it is treated. Takenishi says the detailed description of such matters a giving birth shows Lady Nijō's consciousness of the existence of human beings in relation to other people. Hiroko Takenishi, "*Towazugatari* to Ōchō Nikki", *Bungaku*, Jan. 1967, vol. 35, 49-57.

[11] See S. Miyauchi, "*Towazugatari* no sakusha to 'Ariake no tsuki'".

[12] See Hideichi Fukuda, "'*Towazugatari*' no Kyokō ni tsuite." in *Chūsei Bungaku no Kenkyū*, ed. Minoru Akiyama (Tokyo, 1972), 122-127. Matsumoto claims that the course of travels in the *Towazugatari* is similar to that of Ippen (1239-1289), rather than that of Saigyo's. Matsumoto also discusses possible reasons why Lady Nijō had included trips to Ashirzunijori-misaki and Zenkōji. See Yasushi Matsumoto,"GoFukakusain Nijō *Kokubungaku*; *Kaishaku to kyōzai no kenkyū*, 24.10 Aug. 79, 148.Miyauchi, on the other hand finds a significant similarity between the course Nijō took and those in Kaidōki (1223?) and Tōkankikō (1242?), neither of whose authorship is known, the *Izayoi nikki* (1280) by Abutsuni (?-1283). Miyauchi proposes to take a serious look at the above mentioned travel diaries to understand the motivation for Nijō to fabricate part of the course of her trip. See *Kokugo to Kokubungaku*, March 1976, especially 78-80.

[13] Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (Berkeley, 1976) 10. Hideichi Fukuda, "*Towazugatari* no Kyokō ni tsuite" in *Chusei bungaku no kenkyū* ed. Minoru Akiyama (Tokyo, 1972), 115-140.

[14] See Fukuda "Genji monogatari to kōdai bungaku" *Chūsei bungaku e no eikyō*; *Kokubungaku: Kaishaku to kansho* 5 (1968) 110-114. Karen Brazell, "*Towazugatari*: Autobiography of a Kamakura Court Lady" *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 31 (1971), 228-229. Also in the introduction of *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, (Stanford, 1973) especially, xxiii - xxiv.

[15] Putzar, 93.

[16] Bashō, *Oi no Kobumi*, in *Nihon Koten bungaku taikei*, 46, 53. Yasuaki Nagazumi, *Chūsei bungaku no tenbō* (Tokyo, 1966).

[17] Earl Miner, *Japanese Poetic Diaries* (Berkeley, 1976), 6.

[18] Ibid., 10, 8, 9.

[19] Iwao Nakada, ed. *Towazugatari zenshaku* (Tokyo, 1966), 418.

[20] If it is established that Nijō herself named the title as "Towazugatari", it gives us more significance on this point. Brazell translated the *Towazugatari* as 'The Confession of Lady Nijō' which might be a little misleading because of the strong connotation of 'admitting sins' in a Christian sense. However, in her introduction to her translation of the work, Brazell provides an explanation on the meaning of the title. She says: ". . . means literally 'unrequested tale.' In the

Kamakura period the phrase also had the connotation of pouring forth something you can no longer keep to yourself.'' (xxvii) This clearly tells us the self-confessional character of the work.

[21] Miner, ''The Tosa Diary'' in *Japanese Poetic Diaries*, 87.

[22] Arthur Waley, trans. *The Tale of Genji* (New York, 1960), 501-502.

[23] Miner, 30, 19.

[24] Ibid., 19.

[25] Brazell, *The Confessions of Lady Nijō*, 67.

[26] Ibid., 152.

[27] Nakada, *Towazugatari zenshaku*, 412.

[28] Brazell, 153.

[29] Ichirō Hori, *Folk Religion in Japan*, ed. Joseph M. Kitagawa, et al. (Chicago, 1968), 242.

[30] Brazell, 17.

[31] Ibid., 182, 148, 152.

[32] Ivan Morris, *The World of the Shining Prince: Court Life in Ancient Japan* (Dallas, Pa, 1979), 123.

[33] Nobutsuna Sasaki, ed., *Kokin waka shū* (Tokyo, 1958), 172. (Vol. 16, poem 861).

[34] Robert Brower and E. Miner, *Japanese Court Poetry* (Standford, Ca, 1961), 203.

[35] Brazell, 25, 27.

[36] I. Nakada, 146.

[37] Translation by author.

[38] Brazell, 104.

[39] I. Nakada, 282.

[40] Brazell, 105.

[41] Ibid., 91, 52.

[42] Nakada, 79.

[43] Brazell, 28.

[44] Nakada, 405.

[45] Brazell, 150.

[46] Nakada, 424.

[47] Brazell, 157.

[48] Ibid., 151, 157.

[49] Brazell, 122, 127, 130, 96-101.

[50] See Donald Keene, *Japanese Literature: An Introduction for Western Readers* (New York, 1955).

[51] Ryūsaku Tsunode, ''On Realism in Art,'' in *Source of Japanese Tradition* (New York, 1958), 439.

[52] I. Morris, 275-298.

[53] Nakada, 402.

[54] Brazell, 149;

[55] Tokuhei Yamagishi, ed., *Genji Monogatari* (4) (Tokyo, 1962), 17.

[56] Waley, *The Tale of Genji*, 679.

[57] Brazell, 151.

[58] Waley, 681.

[59] Ibid., 679-692.

[60] I. Morris, 275-298, Brazell, 149.

[61] Ibid., 46.

[62] Shūichi Katō, *A History of Japanese Literature*, trans. David Chibbett (Tokyo, 1979), 14, 16.

[63] Herbert Plutschow and Hideichi Fukuda, *Nihon kikō bungaku binran* (Tokyo, 1975), 69-75; A. Waley, 501.

[64] Nobutsuna Sasaki, *Kagerō nikki* (Tokyo, 1958), 49. Jingorō Usuda, *Murasaki shikibu nikki* (Tokyo, 1957).

[65] Brazell, 49-50.

[66] S. Kato, 16.

[67] Brazell, 68-74.

Material Culture, Technology and the Historiography of the Middle East

Jean-Luc Krawczyk

The study of material culture and technology within a historical context is sadly underdeveloped in most fields of history, yet it holds much promise as a methodological adjunct to many modes of historiographical analysis. This is especially true in the case of Middle Eastern history where it could- and in the future, should- illuminate and fill out some of the lacunae now present in many standard historiographical intrepretations. In the past, much of Middle Eastern historiography adhered to a now outdated tradition that tended to view everything that occured in the Middle East as a direct cultural product of Islam. This so-called "Orientalist" tradition, with its stress on philology, politics and religion has been supplanted by a subsequent generation of historians who pay more attention to socioeconomic factors in their analyses. Yet, even here, their discussions may overstress trade, or center almost exclusively on dependent relations with the West; this is especially true in regards to the history of the modern Middle East. For a Marxist or a materialist historian this may take the form of an abiding interest in the nature and form of class relations to the detriment of the means of production. Since both the means and relations of production are inexorably intertwined, it makes little sense to stress trade exploitation, dependency and class structure without examining the actual productive capabilites of a society and including them into one's final analysis.[1]

Material culture encompasses both technology and the objects or processes it produces for human use and consumption. A geographical

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and/or ecological component must also be included in and appended to the concept of technology since both merge in forming the material basis of all societies and affecting, to different degrees, all individuals included therein. A wholistic historical approach which stresses material culture and ecology is being practiced by French historians of the *Annales* school such as Fernand Braudel and Emmanuel LeRoy Ladurie, and by their American counterparts, William McNeill and Lynn White. For Middle Eastern historians, however, this approach is just now beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

A good example of how this methodology may be applied in the future is afforded by a cursory examination of the rates of growth of the Middle East's economy vis-a-vis Europe during the former's classical period (i.e., the seventh to the sixteenth centuries). Comparative questions of rise and decline are by no means easy as they can fall prey to the polemical biases and confessional interests of different scholars- usually in the form of excessive apologetics or downright chauvinism. That Western Europe experienced a period of tremendous material expansion while the Middle East's economy seemed to stagnate, or even retrogress, in the later Middle Ages is a phenomenon that seems to be irrefutable. The question then arises as to why this occurred. Religio-cultural factors aside, we may be able to perceive some ecological, geographic and material factors that combined with- or may have even produced-specific socioeconomic and political circumstances that engendered this long run disparity in the Middle East.

A stress on long term processes is unavoidable when dealing with ecological or physiobiotic factors; change is gradual, not abrupt and easily delineated as many historians perceive it. For the historiography of the Middle East addressing such problems will help immensely in the understanding of the field, likewise, it will also serve as a catalyst for the development of new areas of inquiry.

Agriculture and Pastoral Nomadism

The question of long term agricultural production and the improvement of methods and techniques is paramount for an historian of material culture. Production of a stable agricultural surplus is at the root of the establishment and maintenance of all pre-modern civilizations. Greater surplus accumulation produced higher levels of political differentiation and cultural sophistication, spurred on by a need for greater internal political organization and an increasingly complex division of labor. The earliest agrarian civilizations arose in the Middle East as functional adaptations to local physical conditions. Centralized political entities were easier to establish in the relatively flat and semi-arid riverine systems of

the Middle East than in the temperate, well watered and heavily forested environment of Northern Europe. The former placed a premium on irrigation agriculture which in turn necessitated greater local cooperation, organization, and upkeep. The latter had no such imperative, and was thus slower to evolve from hunting, gathering, and simple bartering to the point where it needed to adopt the trappings of a differentiated civilization.

Andrew Watson of the University of Toronto has just written a new (and what we believe will be viewed in the future as a seminal) book entitled *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* (Cambridge, 1984).[2] In it Watson traces the development and long term effects of what he calls the "green revolution" that followed the Muslim conquests during the course of the middle and late seventh century A.D., and the early eighth. The relative speed and incredible breadth of these conquests brought the Arabs into close contact with a number of older and more sophisticated civilizations. Along with the possibility of new commercial contacts, the Arabs took notice of and adopted certain customs, techniques, political institutions and knowledge from these more advanced civilizations and synthesized them into their own brilliant culture (e.g., from the Byzantines, Persians, Indians and Chinese). They also brought back with them and adopted a number of new plants and fruits. These new crops began to appear in the easternmost reaches of the Islamic world by the beginning of the eighth century, and had spread through the length and breadth of the *Dar al-Islam* by the eleventh. They often radically modified and improved the economic output of many different regions. The subsequent results were manifold; not only was agricultural production and overall income affected, but so were population levels, urban growth, labor distribution, linked industries, cooking, diet, clothing, and commerce.[3] The agricultural revolution was also bound up with a demographic expansion that spread through most of the Islamic world from the early eighth century and lasted until the end of the tenth. Demographic growth resulted at times from agricultural expansion, while at others it must have been its efficient cause.[4]

The consequences of such demographic growth were extensive. Previously empty spaces were filled up, settlements became denser. This in turn further eased communication and, theoretically, the speed by which agricultural innovations were diffused and applied.[5] The countryside seems to have been able to adequately feed not only itself, but also the large and growing urban centers. Much of the rise in productivity was due to the adaptation of these new imported tropical and sub-tropical crops to a summer season in the Middle East. Previously, as was the tradition of the agriculture of antiquity, summer was a dead season in these arid and semi-arid lands. High heat and a lack of adequate

precipitation necessarily mitigated any attempts at planting, land and labor lay idle instead.

With the introduction of new imported crops such as rice, sugar, cotton, indigo, watermelons, bananas, eggplants and the like, Middle Eastern farmers could now mix and match specific crops to varying local soil and hydraulic conditions. Agriculture became a year round proposition with the introduction of a quadriannual crop rotation. Agriculture, however, could not hope to meet a consistently high level of productivity without the support of a sophisticated irrigation system that was in turn aided by extensive and varigated use of different manures and hoeing, digging and harrowing techniques. What emerged was a complex, productive, and efficient agriculture that stressed specialized adaptation, maximized output, and was labor and capital intensive. It was, however, a very fragile agriculture.

Irrigation agriculture as practised in the Middle East had serious long-term drawbacks. It took a great deal of maintenance and capital investment to keep the system in good operating condition. This was predicated on both a stable political climate and a steady fiscal base to maintain a high degree of operational efficiency. In times of relative stability and fiscal strength on the part of the state and local authorities, this could be maintained adequately. But if either, or both, prerequisite conditions were not met, agriculture suffered heavily. With the increasing fragmentation of the Abbasid Empire and its concomitant loss of centralized political authority, from the beginning of the early ninth century to its actual destruction in the mid-tenth, agricultural conditions in the core areas of the Middle East steadily worsened. Political and military instability, common to political systems that increasingly relied on imported Turkish military slaves (i.e., the Praetorian guard syndrome), and a worsening tax burden on the peasantry only exacerbated the situation. Watson's view of a great interest in agriculture by the Arabs is also shared by the eminent French historian, Claude Cahen. Like Watson, Cahen states that Muslim agriculture flourished in the early Middle Ages but began to noticeably decline in later periods along with the breakdown of strong centralized empire systems and the rise of local foci of authority (i.e., Balkanization).[6]

Perhaps more serious in the long run were the twin problems of salinization and deforestation. Continuous irrigation builds up a pressure gradient that gradually draws salts- and in modern times, chemical pollutants up to the soil surface from the water table below. This effectively ruins the soil for further cultivation as there is little or no way of reversing the process. Over time sizeable tracts of irrigated land in Iraq, Egypt and other parts of the Middle East were permanently lost to agriculture due to such overuse. For an excellent study of irrigation and its

sometimes deleterious effects the reader should consult Robert McAdams, *Land Behind Baghdad: A History of Settlement on the Diyala Plains* (Chicago, 1965). The phenomenon of salinization is well known throughout Middle Eastern history, and it appears at different times in other parts of the world as well.

Deforestation resulted from the Middle East's relative scarcity of wood compared to Europe and other areas in general. Consumption for fuel and building material stripped much of the forest land relatively early. The famous cedars of Lebanon were already being harvested in large numbers in antiquity. Such consumption of precious wood resources was, on the whole, detrimental not only to industrial development but to agriculture as well. Trees and cover vegetation play an important role in anchoring soil and preventing erosion. Over the long run, much valuable topsoil was lost as its protective vegetative cover was stripped away for other uses. This sort of man-made "dust bowl" was to have negative long term results for the Middle East. For a thorough examination the reader should consult J.V. Thirgood's, *Man and the Mediterranean Forest: A History of Resource Depletion* (London and New York, 1981).

No account of Middle Eastern agriculture can be complete without dealing with the question of pastoral nomadism and its relation to the agricultural sector. The popular image of the Middle East is that of a land filled with camel riding nomads. This is very misleading since pastoral nomads have never made up more than a small percentage of the population. Nevertheless, they have historically been very important for the role they have played.

The semi-arid and generally marginal lands of the Middle East can be most efficiently utilized by having a combination of pastoral nomadism and agriculture. Optimally, the two forms of economic production should complement each other in a symbiotic relationship that maximizes the use of the environment. In reality, the organizational imperatives are such that a competitive and antagonistic relationship often results. Mutualism may occur, but this is only dictated by a delicate balance of power between a centralized regime interested in protecting its primary source of revenue and tribal nomads who covet agricultural land as pasture for their flocks. In times of strong central power pastoral nomads fit into the interstices between agricultural land and the desert or steppe. When the situation is reversed, as it often was, the nomads sometimes ravage agricultural land and villages in a drive to maximize their short-term profits. Their always high potential for military mobilization and rapid movement gave them a far greater strategic importance than that dictated purely by their numbers. They could, therefore, be just as destructive to agriculture as any natural disaster.

Organized large scale invasions of the Middle East by pastoral nomads, such as those of the Seljuq Turks in the eleventh century, caused a great disruption of the agricultural sector and had momentous demographic repercussions. As more agricultural land was converted to pasturage for nomadic flocks, food production was lowered and urban centers began to attenuate. The same process was to be repeated, perhaps even more violently, in the course of the thirteenth century with the advent of the Mongol invasions. It is for this reason that historians mark the eleventh century and the coming of the Seljuqs as a watershed in the history of the Middle East, and as a benchmark for the diminuation of agriculture. A new equilibrium between pastoral nomadism and agriculture was reached, but in many ways it can be viewed as a traumatic intensification of a process of competitive interaction occurring since antiquity. It can also be argued that the long term trend towards increasing arridity spurred on more pastoral nomadism at the cost of agriculture, and that large scale invasions only exacerbated this process. Needless to say, this is a very complex question which can also be argued from the other direction and will, no doubt, keep interested historians and anthropologists busy for some time to come.

Pastoral nomads are rarely, if ever, economically self-sufficient. Stock-raising alone is usally not enough to guarantee their successful reproductive capabilities. This must inevitably be supplemented by adjunct economic activities such as part-time farming, trading, hunting, transport and in a number of cases, day labor. The close interaction between "the desert and the sown" is best illustrated by analyzing the productive capabilities of a pastoral nomadic group *in toto*. The measure of relative productive wealth can be best understood when it is established against a background of all possible sources of pastoral nomadic wealth, including interchange with sedentarized society. These sources of wealth, or poverty as the case may be, are dictated by physio-biotic factors (i.e., ecology), commercial activities, and political relations with the centralized state. Sedentary agriculture, commerce and manufacturing, which are merely controlled and taxed by pastoral nomads when they manage to seize control of territory, fit part and parcel within this nexus. In effect, a conjunction of the pastoral nomadic economy with the sedentary agricultural and urban commercial ones is evident.

Works on pastoral nomads by anthropologists are legion and need not be mentioned here, but it must be noted that historians are now beginning to gain a fuller understanding of this phenomenon and are increasingly appreciating the methodology of anthropologists. Synchronic and diachronic viewpoints are converging and producing works of great synthetic value. Historians such as Gene Garthwaite, Fred Donner, James Reid and John Masson Smith, among others, are writing "tribal history,"

a relatively new field of endeavor. Of more relevence for this essay, however, is the new work by the French anthropologist Jean-Pierre Digard entitled *Techniques des nomades Baxtyāry d'Iran* (New York. Cambridge and London, 1982). This is the innaugural volume of his study of these pastoral nomads, and it should be a landmark for anthropologists and historians alike as it attempts a synthetic and wholistic integration of all aspects of a particular nomadic people's lifestyle, habitat, material culture and historical development. His is a welcome addition to the field in that it incorporates both standard ethnography with the material culture approach of the French Annales school.

Fuel, Power and Industry

If agriculture's development and its relationship to pastoral nomadism poses us with compelling questions and problems, then so does Middle Eastern mechanical engineering and industry. To a modern observer the word industry usually conjures up images of large factories, steel mills and assembly lines. But these are relatively modern developments that have their genesis in the capitalist development of Europe. "Industry" in a medieval context usually signified much smaller operations, often at the level of handicrafts and small workshops. For the Middle East this included such pursuits as mining, metallurgy, milling, sugar refining, papermaking, textiles, shipbuilding and a horde of more specialized crafts. An excellent study of the material life of medieval Egyptians can be found in S.D. Goitein's magisterial work, *A Mediterranean Society* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1967), vol. I, *Economic Foundations.* Likewise for Iran, the reader should consult H. Wulff, *The Traditional Crafts of Persia* (Cambridge, 1966).

A crucial criterion for the definition of industrial versus artisanal forms of production is not only the question of size and volume, but whether or not sources of power outside of human and animal labor were applied to manufacturing processes. Sources tell us that waterpower, apart from grain milling and irrigation, was used in mining, sugar refining, and in all likelyhood, papermaking.[7] The critical development for large scale industrial processes, however, was the creation of effective power trains by which the motive power of water, wind or fuel was directly transferred to a particular task, thus generating a level of force and productive output that was not possible before. The application and use of varigated and large scale power trains was a hallmark of an expanding European economy but it appears to have been comparatively lacking in the Middle East.

The scarcity of textual and archeological evidence for Middle Eastern mechanical engineering, as compared to what is available for Europe, is a

problem for historians. The few extant sources that are found tell us that medieval Muslim mechanical engineering was complex and well developed, at least on a theoretical design level. For an excellent overview the reader should consult the work of Donald Hill and Ahmad al-Hassan.[8] Their research on the work of the Muslim engineers al-Jazarī (ca. 1200 A.D.), and al-Jayyānī (d. 1079 A.D.), paints a fascinating yet incomplete picture. The machine designs they describe are noteworthy for their sheer size, power and obvious industrial applications. These machines exhibit the use of several forms of gearing, including parallel meshing, right angle, worm and pinion, segmental, and even epicyclic gearing. These findings were rather startling for both men, as they illustrate systems for transmitting torque that are much more complex than any other power-driven gears known to have existed so early.[9] It becomes apparent, therefore, that medieval Muslims did have the prerequisite knowledge to design advanced power trains for their machines, but the question of the extent of the actual implementation and use of these machines, if any, is still unanswered and must be found elsewhere.

Related to the above is the role of available sources of fuel and power and their role in furthering industrial development. Europe had a distinctive advantage over the Middle East in terms of available power, including wood, coal, and running water that could be harnessed for economic processes. All three were indispensable for the development of the material infrastructure of a machine industry. Wood provided fuel, building material and a source of badly needed ground cover for agriculture. Its relative paucity was to be of serious consequence for the Middle East, for as Fernand Braudel has stated: "The fact that wood was used everywhere carried enormous significance in the past. One of the reasons for Europe's power lay in its being so plentifully endowed with forests. In the face of it Islam was in the long run undermined by the poverty of its wood resources and their gradual exhaustion."[10]

Such an environmental constraint limited the growth of industries that consumed large amounts of fuel like the manufacture of pottery, glass, sugar, and various metallurgical processes. The lack of adequate fuel for the maintenance of consistently high heat in metallurgy hampered in turn, as Thomas Glick believes, the overall use of iron in comparison to Europe.[11] Indeed, one of the most important advances in metal working was the European application, in the Middle Ages, of water power to produce an air blast that permitted the production of cast iron.[12] Presumably, this combination of water power, with plentiful available fuel, provided a high and constant enough heat to make both cast iron and steel on a decidedly large scale. A modern example of this dilemma of adequate fuel is found today in North Africa, where fruit pits are used to produce ample heat in small-scale backyard furnaces.

The lack of adequate fuel supplies necessarily circumscribed Middle Eastern metallurgy on a quantitative but not qualitative level. The technical level of this industry was otherwise quite high and well developed as the research of scholars such as J. Piatkowski and Ahmad al-Hassan attests.[13] But this may have meant that iron and steel production was more often than not monopolized by the state for its strategic interests at the expense of its widespread use by the rest of society. Problems directly linked to resource attrition, however, do appear. By the sixteenth century, Morocco's iron and steel industry began to stagnate due to a shortage of adequate fuel for its furnaces. Lower temperatures resulted in poor refining rates for both metals to the point that cheaper and more readily available European iron and steel eventually replaced local production. The destruction of this local industry by a more efficient and competitive product damaged the economy and retarded the further development of Moroccan metallurgy until well into the twentieth century.[14]

Similary, we can also point to the work of Paul Berthier on the Moroccan sugar industry and witness a homologous phenomenon.[15] What had been an old and thriving industry literally destroyed itself by degrading the natural resources that underlay its foundation. The complex of sugarcane plantations, the irrigation system that served them, and the refineries that produced the final product suffered from long term overconsumption of soil, water and combustible wood. Excessive soil degradation by plantations- sugarcane is not unlike cotton in this respect- and deforestation damaged the industry beyond repair. The drive to scour the countryside for all available natural resources contributed to the ruination of both industrial and agricultural concerns.

In the early nineteenth century, Muhammad Ali Bey (A.D. 1805-1848), the father of modern Egypt, attempted to modernize his agrarian society against great obstacles. He ultimately failed, fighting European economic and geopolitical interests along with internal problems, one of which was the chronic shortage of fuel to power the imported steam engines that were to run his new and modern industrial sector. It was, of course, a concatenation of different factors that led to the failure of Muhammad Ali's modernizing experiment. The shortage of available fuel was only one among many problems he had to face, but it was a crucial one nevertheless, and it serves as a constant reminder of the long range historical implications of a changing physio-biotic environment of which historians should be well aware. There is a constant interplay of material and socioeconomic factors that go into the economy and society of a particular culture.

Conclusion

The above has presented a very general and thematic introduction to some of the more salient questions and problems for historians of the Middle East who are interested in integrating technology and material history into their work. One may ask the question, why is this really necessary for an already developed field? The answer is that Middle East historians operate at a distinct disadvantage vis-a-vis other fields of history such as American or European. The Middle East suffers from a distinct lack of archival material to work with, especially for the earlier periods, and historians must instead rely on written histories and literature, in order to reconstruct the past. As a result, adjunct research skills must be developed in order to supplement and fill in the cracks left where literary sources leave off, so as to bring our understanding of the Middle East nearer to the level of our knowledge of the West.[16]

Middle Eastern historians are already cultivating ancillary skills in such fields as archeology, anthropology, art history, geography, and the history of technology in order to supplement the historical tools available to them and to maximize the manner in which various sources such as pot sherds, architecture, and geographical surveys can be made to "speak." This does not mean that these historians should embark upon the exhaustive study of new fields, for even a minimum working knowledge of one of them will help immensely. Historians are often put off and intimidated by seemingly overly technical works that are in reality not that difficult to understand. A number of historians have published excellent works on technology even though they themselves lacked great technical expertise.[17]

Part of the problem is that technological work appears not only forbiddingly difficult, but it is seen as overly descriptive scholarship that merely catalogues disembodied things without placing them within a frame of reference that describes their dynamic function and historical importance. It is true that a number of technological historians have fallen prey to an all consuming monomania and fetishization of the objects they study as primary causal factors in history. The correct approach is to imbed technology and material culture within a greater theoretical framework that integrates all historical factors. No one should be pejoratively dismissed as a technological or geographical determinist.

Agriculture, salinization, deforestation, dessication, pastoral nomadism and fuel and industry, constitute important, but often overlooked, backdrops to the more pronounced leitmotifs of politics, religion and commerce in Middle Eastern historiography. Each topic should be studied on its own, but they should all be tied to social change and historical movement. Agriculture declined after the eleventh century due to

salinization, deforestation, and political insecurity, but how was it affected by overcrowding on the land, a decline in free small ownership, the growth of increasingly inflexible class-divided landholding systems, the rise of military quasi-feudalism, and invasion, occupation and rule by nomadic conquerors? Similarly, the rise of militarily dominated regimes in the later Middle Ages was marked by ever increasing state control of the economy to the detriment of free competition and the gradual weakening of the Muslim bourgeoisie. An important article by E. Ashtor shows how the slow strangulation of competition negated the need for innovation in industry, and, presumably, investment in new technology.[18] These developments combined with resource depletion as simultaneous factors leading to the stagnation and eventual destruction of a number of Middle Eastern industries. An increasing gulf between the poor and the rich may have geared Middle Eastern manufacturing towards specializing in intricate luxury items for the latter at the cost of mass producing simpler goods for the common masses. Indeed, it was Europe's ability to mass produce cheaper goods, such as cloth, that permitted it to flood Middle Eastern markets with its exports from a relatively earlier period than is generally assumed (ca. 13th c.).

The Middle East was superior to the West in production and technological innovation from the seventh to the eleventh century, but thereafter the trend was reversed. This brief essay attempts no definitive explanation for this phenomenon, it only suggests some directions for expanding future research with an eye to re-orienting the methodological perspective of Middle Eastern historians. Material and socioeconomic forces interact in creating a dynamic whole and scholars must be aware of both, for only then can they hope to write a truly "wholistic" and seamless history of the Middle East.

NOTES

[1] For an excellent discussion on the above points the reader is strongly urged to see the forthcoming article by Nikki R. Keddie, "Material Culture and Geography: Towards a Holistic Comparative History of the Middle East", in the Fall 1984 issue of *Comparative Studies in Society and History*. Profound thanks are expressed to the author for the use of her original manuscript, and for her well appreciated guidance and support.

[2] The reader should also be aware of Watson's earlier published articles which were the genesis of the above quoted book. Please see "The Arab Agricultural Revolution and its Diffusion, 700-1100," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 34(1974), 8-35; and "A Medieval Green Revolution: New Crops and Farming Technique in the Early Islamic World", in A. Udovitch, ed., *The Islamic Middle East 700-1900: Studies in Social and Economic History* (Princeton, 1981).

[3] Watson, *Agricultural Innovation...*, 4.

[4] Ibid., 129.

[5] Ibid., 131.

[6] The reader should consult Claude Cahen, "Notes pour une histoire de l'agriculture dans les pays musulmans," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 14(1972), 63; "Quelques mots sur les hilaliens et le nomadisme", Ibid., 11(1968), 130-133; and "Nomades et sedentaires dans le monde musulman du moyen age", in D.S. Richards, ed., *Islamic Civilization 950-1150* (Oxford, 1973), 93-104. For an opposite view, that of decline from the very beginning, see A. Ashtor, *A Social and Economic History of the Near East in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1976).

[7] A number of references to "Islamic" applications of waterpower for industrial purposes are found in Bernard Rosenberger, "Les vielles explorations minières et les anciens centres metallurgiques du Maroc", *Revue de géographie du Maroc* 18(1970), 59-102; and Paul Berthier, *Les anciennes sucreries du Maroc et leurs reseaux hydrauliques* (Rabat, 1966), 39. For a longer and more definitive description of waterwheels and their uses in the Middle East, the reader should consult Thorkild Schioler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels*", Acta Historica Scientarium Et Medicinalium Editio Bibliotheca Universitatis Hauniensis," 28(Rome, ?).

[8] For a good overview of Islamic engineering and machine designs see Donald Hill, "A Treatise on Machines by Ibn Muᶜādh Abū ᶜAbd Allāh al-Jayyānī", *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 2(1978) 33-46; Ahmad al-Hassan, "A Compendium on the Theory and Practice of the Mechanical Arts," Ibid., 1(1977)47-64; and D. Hill, "The Banu Musa and Their Book of Ingenious Devices", *History of Technology*, 2(1977) 39-76.

[9] Hill, "...al-Jayyānī," 39.

[10] Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life* (New York, 1973), 266.

[11] See Thomas Glick, *Islamic and Christian Spain in the Early Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1979), 218-219.

[12] S. Lilley, *Men, Machines and History* (London, 1948), 48; and Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life*, 280. 13. A number of sources bear this out, for the present reader see J. Piatkowski, "Mettalo-Graphic Examination of two Damascene Steel Blades," *Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, 2(1978) 3-30; and Ahmad al-Hassan, "Iron and Steel Technology in Medieval Arabic Sources," Ibid., 31-52.

[14] Rosenberger, "Explorations Minieres...," 66.

[15] Berthier, Sucreries..., 39.

[16] Keddie, "Material Culture..."

[17] Ibid.

[18] E. Ashtor, "Levantine Sugar Industry in the Late Middle Ages: A case Study of Technological Decline," in Udovitch, *The Islamic Middle East*.

The *Existimatio* of Julius Caesar

Steve O'Bryan

The *existimatio* of Julius Caesar was a decisive factor in the events immediately following his assassination on the Ides of March, 44 B.C.. It is, therefore, somewhat of a surprise to note that given the extensive body of literature, which has examined every aspect of his life and political career, little has been written about the connection between Caesar's *existimatio* and the events that followed his death. A possible exception to this is an article by Zwi Yavetz entitled "*Existimatio*, Fama, and the Ides of March," in which he deals with the meaning and use of the word *existimatio* in the late Roman republic.[1]

In Rome, *existimatio* referred to the perception of a politician by the people- his public image. *Existimatio* was based partially on birth (*genus*), official position (*honos*), and wealth (*copiae*).[2] The most important component of an individual's *existimatio*, however, was influential friends. They spoke well of a man in the right places. And at the right times they were indispensable in creating a favorable *existimatio*. *Existimatio* was not always based on actual merit. In contemporary politics, *existimatio* is analogous to the efforts made by today's campaign managers to project a positive image of a political candidate. A favorable *existimatio* depended primarily on what other people were doing and saying on behalf of a particular individual. "For this reason Roman politicans expended considerable effort in order to make people speak favorably of them and even organized the dissemination of rumors in order

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to enhance their reputations."[3] Caesar was a realist. He, and his enemies were continually engaged in propaganda offensives.

Caesar encountered strong opposition from the Roman Senate. This opposition consisted primarily of two groups of senators, both of which objected to Caesar but for different reasons. The first group consisted of men like Cicero and Brutus, who were in the minority. They objected to Caesar on philosophical grounds, the basis of which was their knowledge of and background in Greek culture in general and Greek political theory and history in particular. "People like Cicero know that the Greeks admired tyrannicides and indulged in a similar attitude... it was a disgrace to associate with him (a tyrant) and there was no nobler enterprise than to murder him."[4]

The second group was more representative of the Senate, generally. This group consisted of senators who did not have the extensive Greek background of someone like Cicero. These senators looked at Caesar not through the perspective of Greek political theory, but rather as a man who had trampled on the traditional, republican, consitutional conventions, however anachronistic they might have been. They judged Caesar according to his "faithfulness to Republcian tradition" and "his devotion to *mos maiorum*."[5] In their eyes, he was found wanting on both counts.

Caesar's enemies attempted to damage his *existimatio* through the manipulation of several propagandistic techniques common to republican Rome, the spreading of false rumors and the distributing slanderous pamphlets.[6] These were difficult to ignore but at the same time difficult to deal with in a positive fashion. Further, Caesar's own enigmatic behavior added additional fuel to the complaints of his enemies.[7]

Nevertheless, despite the efforts to discredit Caesar in the eyes of the people, his popularity remained high. Yavetz concludes that the conspirators misjudged the political situation in Rome and did not take into account the positive character of Caesar's *existimatio* at the time of his assassination. However, Yavetz does not go far enough in his analysis of Caesar's *existimatio* by including a discussion of the events immediately following the assassination. He does not consider the funeral oration of Antony nor does he consider the myriad of details that are documented in the sources as leading up to the funeral of Caesar.

After the death of Caesar, the urban plebs reacted adversely to the news of his murder. What was the basis for this negative reaction? Was the loss of Caesar, in itself, enough to move the people or were they misled and manipulated by Antony for his own ends as traditionally held? What affect did the events immediately following the murder of Caesar have on public opinion in Rome? Did Antony orchestrate the negative reaction of the urban plebs to the assassination of Caesar?

The Events of 15 March to 17 March 44 BC

Julius Caesar was murdered in the late morning of 15 March 44 BC. In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, the panic-stricken senators fled from the Senate house.[8] Antony, who had been detained at the door by Trebonius before the assassination,[9] fled in fear for his life and fortified his house.[10] Lepidus, *magister equitum* and equally fearful, withdrew across the Tiber.[11] The conspirators left the body of Caesar in the Senate house. Eventually, the body was carried home on a litter by three slaves.[12] The conspirators, however, originally intended to leave the body unburied, since they held that it was right to kill a tyrant who had abused his power.[13] Further, the body was to be exhibited as an example and thrown into the Tiber.[14] As the sequence of events unfolded and the smoke began to clear, two factors prevented this from happening: the negative reaction of the urban plebs and the intervention of Antony.

After the murder, one of the conspirators fixed the liberty cap on the end of a spear.[15] The conspirators then marched *en masse* through the streets from the Senate house to the Capitol openly displaying their daggers and exhorting the people to freedom. They declared that liberty had been restored.[16] However, *libertas* had little significance for the common man on the streets of Rome. *Libertas*, as espoused by Brutus and the other conspirators, was, in the eyes of the plebs, merely political rhetoric and political idealism that had no direct bearing on their everyday affairs. The urban mob had little to lose in the passing of the conspirator's idea of *libertas*. Consequently, when the conspirators made their ascent to the Capitol, marching through the streets of Rome in apparent triumph, as Plutarch describes,[17] they received a rather bewildered and perplexed response from the people. What further response they did receive was one of relief that no one else was to be killed. The conspirators received no support for their actions at this time and were alarmed. Appian reports their subsequent anxiety and apprehension over the attitude of the plebs and the probable attitude of Caesar's soldiers.[18]

> For when you have killed a tyrant, it is disconcerting to find yourself surrounded by people who are not convinced, from the acts performed during his lifetime, that the man whom you have killed was a tyrant at all.[19]

Their triumphal procession had turned into a flight. "They had failed to create an image themselves as liberators."[20] The conspirators held the key to future action. It was quickly becoming apparent, however, that the conspirators had no plan of action beyond the elimination of Caesar. They believed that once they had killed the tyrant the Republic would

automatically be restored. Not only was the Republic not restored, but it could not be restored. The real power in the Roman state had passed out of the hands of the Senate, and it was now in the hands of the general who could command the largest and most powerful army. This was the legacy of decades of civil war and assault on republican institutions and traditions. The Republic was gone and no amount of political exhortation by the conspirators would revive it. Brutus and Cassius could not command the loyalty of the large army,[21] which had passed into the hands of Caesar's supporters and successors. Neither did they have the support of the plebs. Their position was therefore weak and deteriorating rapidly.

Realizing the true state of affairs and no longer fearing for their own safety, Lepidus, and particularly, Antony, re-emerged. During the late night of the fifteenth (or the early morning of the sixteenth) Lepidus moved his troops from across the Tiber and secured and occupied the Forum.[22] Apparently, Lepidus and Balbus, Caesar's secretary, were eager for revenge, but Antony sided with the "more moderate and prudent Hirtius," the designated consul for the next year.[23] Antony asserted himself more forcefully on the sixteenth. For the time being, at least, the army was in the service of Antony and Lepidus.

Sometime during the sixteenth, the conspirators, led by Brutus and Cassius, descended from the Capitol into the Forum to make another vain appeal to the plebs.[24] The speech of Brutus fell flat and, according to Plutarch the only thing that saved Brutus was that the crowd was struck with sympathy and awe at the sight of him. The speech was a controlled, logical, patriotic exposition of the position of the conspirators that made strong appeals to republican tradition.[25] However, the speech was met with an apathetic hostility and his attempt for acceptance failed. Brutus sent a copy of the speech to Cicero for his approval prior to its publication and Cicero commented on it in a letter to Atticus dated 18 May 44.[26] Cicero did not criticize the content nor the logical exposition of the speech. Rather, he would have given more consideration to the context in which the speech was delivered and put more fire into it.[27] Cicero, recognizing the critical opportunity Brutus had squandered, criticized the speech only from hindsight. But at this point, the plebs would have been unreceptive to any speech regardless of how it was delivered.

Reacting to this second rejection by the plebs, Brutus and Cassius returned to the Capitol. Here they were joined by Cicero who urged that the *praetors*, M. Brutus and C. Cassiusm should assume command of the state and convene the senate.[28] This advice was rejected and the conspirators decided to open negotiation with Antony, which were carried on via messengers between the conspirators and Antony during the day of 16 March. The negotiations culminated in the summoning of the Senate by

Antony to convene on the morning of 17 March to resolve the present crisis.[29]

Up to this moment one important point is clear, the urban plebs thoroughly disapproved of the murder of Caesar and demonstrated their displeasure despite attempts by the conspirators to sway their thinking.[30] The sources make it clear that this had nothing whatever to do with Antony. They indicate that prior to the Senate meeting on the morning of 17 March, Antony was relatively inconspicuous. Further, on 15 and 16 March, it was not yet known that Caesar had bequeathed his gardens along the Tiber to the city of Rome, nor was it known that Caesar had also bequeathed a sum of three hundred *sesterces* to each individual citizen.[31] It cannot be said that the plebs had been bought off by the contents of Caesar's will, or, up to this point, manipulated by Antony. Ideology aside, the people remained faithful to a man they considered both friend and benefactor. For this reason, the urban population was a factor that could not be ignored. The conspirators had, indeed, misread the *existimatio* of Caesar. The *existimatio* of Caesar had worked against the conspirators and placed them in a most precarious position, with the urban population of Rome on one side and the re-emerging Antony on the other.

As for the funeral oration of Antony and the alleged role it played in the manipulation of public opinion and emotion, there are a number of brief points to be made.[32] 1) There is no agreement in the ancient sources as to what it was that Antony actually said in his speech.[33] It certainly was not as dramatic and demagogic as Shakespeare would write in his *Julius Caesar*.[34] However, the ancient sources range from the obvious fabrication of Dio to the reticence of Suetonius.[35] 2) The traditional belief that Antony deliberately stirred up and excited the masses into riotous behavior by means of his funeral oration probably has its source in Cicero. In *Philippic* 2.91 Cicero writes:

> Tua illa pulchra laudatio, tua miseratio, tua cohortatio; tu, tu, inquam, illas faces incendisti, et eas, quibus semustulatis ille est, et eas, quibus incesta L. Bellieni domus deflagravit; tu illos impetus perditorum hominum et ex maxima parte servorum, quos nos vi manuque reppulimus, in nostros domos inmisisti.

There is little doubt, however, that Cicero probably goes too far in his condemnation of Antony; he blames him too severely. Of course, by this time (October-November 44), Cicero's attitude toward Antony had hardened. However, the sources do attest to the fact that the funeral excited popular demonstrations and riots. The sight of Caesar's body and bloody clothes probably precipitated the riotous action of the people. It

seems that this one picture contained more evocative power than any funeral oration could hope to have delivered. These brief comments, however, hardly do justice to the problems raised by the funeral oration of Antony.

Antony's prospects were improving rapidly. He was responsible for the negotiations with the conspirators that led to the meeting of the Senate on the morning of 17 March. Also there were a number of other circumstances in his favor; he was the surviving consul for the year and he had been closely associated with Caesar and could realistically hope to inherit the loyalty of his troops. Along with Lepidus, Antony held the immediate control of the troops in the city of Rome. The urban population had thoroughly rejected the entreaties of the conspirators for support. The hopes of the conspirators had fallen far short of their expectations and it was quite obvious that they had no firm basis for action much less a plan. Their political idealism had little in the way of tangible support at this time. Cicero's comment "Acta enim illa res est animo virili, consilio puerili" is especially appropriate at this point.[36] All of the above factors combined to negate any claims to power the conspirators might have entertained. Antony probably realized that this could be his moment.

The Senate met on the morning of 17 March, having been summoned by Antony the previous day. A small minority of the senators openly praised the action of the conspirators.[37] One senator, Tiberius Claudius Nero, proposed that the tyrannicides be voted special honors.[38] The conspirators, however, were neither to be honored nor condemned. Proposals for amnesty and the confirmation of Caesar's *acta* were brought forth for consideration.[39] Cicero was present at this meeting. The speech he delivered included a call for amnesty that was to be extended to all those involved in the conspiracy.[40] Antony, being more pragmatic, pointed out to the Senate how many of its individual members owed their positions to Caesar's *acta*.[41] The conspirators, who were not condemned by the *acta* of Caesar, were confirmed and allowed to stand.[42] Antony, most assuredly, expected the confirmation of Caesar's *acta* to be of great benefit to him, advocated their confirmation of the acta, and was generally conciliatory in his behavior.[43]

At this point, Antony must have considered his prospects promising. However, the prospects of the conspirators had been shut into total darkness. The outcome of the Senate's meeting on the morning of 17 March merely confirmed what had become obvious. The conspirators "had lost, at once and forever, the chance to gain ascendancy over the Senate. The people, unfriendly to begin with, turned sharply against them...The session of 17 March was the real calamity."[44] Cicero laments this lost initiative in a letter to Atticus dated 19 April 44.[45] Nothing had been gained except the elimination of Caesar and that had brought the

odium of the masses down on the conspirators. Caesar's *acta* and his political supporters had survived his assassination.[46] However, contradictory though it may seem, the compromise reached by the Senate was the only real option open to sensible men. Aside from an absolute bloodbath, the conspirators had no choice but to accept the amnesty and the conciliatory gestures of Antony. The conspirators were in no position to bargain. Knight gives a rather grim but realistic assessment of their position:

> The reaction to the murder of Caesar by the populace of Rome alone was enough to show that the liberators were perhaps fortunate to be still alive, and to have declared open hostility to Antony, who led the Caesarian party and therefore the Roman army in the West, would have been tantamount to a public announcement of an intention to commit suicide. The Republicans had little to support them at this stage except their platform and this would have done them little good, in an open declaration of hostility, in view of the forces that could be arraigned against them.[47]

The Republic was dead and its revival was impossible.

Concluding Remarks

Regardless of the public reaction to his funeral, the ancient sources suggest that popular feeling for Caesar was positive at the time of his death. The people judged political figures by the benefits wrought by them and by this standard Caesar was a friend in their eyes. The urban plebs had no roots in Rome's past and had little regard for the republican traditions so jealously guarded by the aristocracy. The *libertas* excitedly proclaimed by the conspirators following the assassination meant nothing to the urban plebs. To the surprise of the conspirators, the people did react adversely to the news of Caesar's death. Had the people enthusiastically supported and celebrated the murder of Caesar, Antony would have had no basis whatever for further action. Having been so closely tied to Caesar, it would have been impossible for him to have initiated any action, concilatory or otherwise.

The negative reaction of the plebs and the hostility it produced gave Antony the opening by which he was able to assert himself against the claims of the conspirators. The plebs needed no promptings from Antony or inducements from Caesar's will to demonstrate their positive feelings for the dictator and their sincere sense of loss at his death. The *existimatio* of Caesar was positive and had been misread by his assassins.

NOTES

[1] Z. Yavetz, "*Existimatio*, Fama and the Ides of March," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 78 (1974), 35-65.

[2] Yavetz (supra n. 1) 56.

[3] Yavetz (supra n. 1) 55.

[4] Yavetz (supra n. 1) 63.

[5] Yavetz (supra n. 1) 64.

[6] Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford, 1969), 62-67.

[7] Plutarch, *Caesar* 60; Dio 44.8.

[8] Appian *Bellum Civile* II 118; Cassius Dio, *A Roman History* 44.20.
(All references to ancient sources are taken from the Loeb Classical Library)

[9] Appian *BC* II 117.

[10] Appian *BC* II 118; Dio 44.22.2-3; Plutarch *Brutus* 18, *Antony* 14, *Caesar* 67; Cicero *Philippic*, 2 88.

[11] Appian *BC* II 118.

[12] Suetonius *Julius Caesar* 82.3; Appian *BC* II 118. "These had all fled except three slaves, who placed the body on a litter and, unsteadily enough, as bearers would, bore homeward him who, a little before, had been master of the earth and sea."

[13] Suetonius *JC* 76.1 "...iure caesus..."

[14] Suetonius *JC* 82.4

[15] Appian *BC* II 119.

[16] Plutarch *Caesar* 67; Appian *BC* II 119.

[17] Plutarch *Caesar* 67.

[18] Appian *BC* II 119.

[19] Baldson, J. P. V. D., "The Ides of March," *Historia* (1958) 82.

[20] Yavetz (supra n. 6) 63-64.

[21] Appian *BC* II 124, D. Brutus had been chosen by Caesar to be governor of Cisalpine Gaul, which had a large army; however, the loyalty of this army was an unknown factor at this time.

[22] Appian *BC* II 126; Dio 44.22.1-2.

[23] Syme (supra n. 9) 97 n. 1.

[24] Plutarch *Caesar* 67; *Brutus* 18; Appian *BC* II 122; Dio 44.21; Syme (supra n. 9).

[25] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 15.1A.2; Syme (supra n. 9), 97.

[26] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 15.1A.2.

[27] "Ego tamen, si illam causam habuissem scripsissem ardentius."

[28] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 14.10.1.

[29] Appian *BC* II 124-126; Dio 44.22.3.

[30] The most graphic display of their displeasure prior to the funeral was their treatment of Cinna. Appian *BC* II 121, 126.

[31] Suetonius *JC* 83; Dio 44.35.4, gives the sum of 120 sesterces.

[32]The following two articles are important for any discussion of Antony's funeral oration: Deutsch, Monroe, E., "Antony Funeral Speech," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* v. 9 n. 5 (1928) 127-148; Kennedy, George, "Antony's Speech at Caesar's Funeral," *The Quarterly Journal of Speech* 54 (April 1968), 99-106.

[33] Appian *BC* 144-146; Dio 44.35-50; Suetonius *JC* 84.2; Plutarch *Antony* 14, *Brutus* 30; Cicero *Philippic*, 2.91.

[34] Deutsch (supra n. 46); Kennedy (supra n. 46), 99.

[35] Suetonius *JC* 84.2, "...quibus perpauca a se verba addidit."

[36] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 14.21.3, dated 11 May 44.

[37] Appian *BC* II 127.

[38] Syme (supra n. 9) 98.

[39] Appian *BC* II 128: Cicero *Philippic* I 16-17. Caesar's *acta* consisted of numerous directives and memoranda regarding policy decisions, and appointments to city offices, magistacies and provincial commands. Scullard Cary and H.H. Scullard *A History of Rome* 3rd edition (New York, 1975), 284, 624 n.2) characterizes *acta* as an "agenda". Cicero doubts the authenticity of some of the *acta* offered to the Senate for confirmation on 17 March,... "ut multis multa promissa non fecit, quae tamen multo plura illo mortuo reperta sunt quam a vivo beneficia per omnis annos tributa et data."

[40] Cicero *Philippic* 1.1; Dio 44, 23-33; Millar, Fergus, *A Study of Cassius Dio* (Oxford 1964) 51-52, 79. Millar points out that "There can be no doubt that the speech was made by Cicero but there is no evidence that it was published and none of the sources seems to know anything of its content in detail. There can be little doubt that the speech in Dio is a free composition by himself...It must be assumed that Dio set out to write the speech with no clearer evidence that was given at the beginning of the First Philippic, or by sources deriving from it."

[41] Appian *BC* II, 127-129.

[42] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 14.10, dated 19 April 44, Cicero's comment on this action about one month after the fact, "..ut omnia facts, scripta, dicta, promissa, cognitata Caesaris plus valerent, quam si ipse viveret?"

[43] Cicero *Philippic* 1.31. Y

[44] Syme (supra n. 9) 98-99.

[45] Cicero *Ad Atticum* 14.10.

[46] Cicero (supra n. 39).

[47] Knight, D.W., "The Political Acumen of Cicero," *Latomus* 27 (1968) 157-158.

Prizes in Greek Athletics: Dispelling the Myth of the Amateur Greek Athlete

Sonia Sorrell

From the nineteenth century until recently, ancient Greek athletes have been viewed as patriotic, self-sacrificing amateurs. Pierre de Coubertin enhanced this romantic view of Greek athletics when he revived the tradition of the ancient Olympic games in 1896.[1] During the first decades of the twentieth century, authors promoted and even magnified the myth of the amateur athlete in ancient Greece. Early historians of sport believed that Greek athletics originated in the aristocratic Homeric games and that they reached a zenith in the Panhellenic games of the sixth century, but that Greek athletics declined throughout the fifth and fourth centuries as specialization and professionalism increased.[2] E. N. Gardiner wrote, "The Nemesis of excess in athletics is professionalism, which is the death of all true sport."[3]

Recently, however, scholars have begun to re-examine this popular picture of ancient Greek amateurism. David Young, a leader in this quest for historical accuracy, believes the myth was founded by "partisans of the nineteenth-century Anglo-American amateur movement [who] wished to legitimize with an ancient precedent their own athletic system, which sought to restrict participation to a wealthy, leisured class." Young points out that the word "athletes" literally means "competitor for a prize."[4] Ancient evidence clearly shows that ancient Greek athletics had an intricate system of prizes and rewards. That is not to say that no ancient athlete ever competed solely for the love of sport or for the glory of his

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city, but that along with these intrinsic rewards of victory, came the extrinsic, more tangible rewards of prizes.

The two types of athletic festivals were the "crown" festival and the "prize" festival. In the "crown" festival, the host city presented wreaths to the athletes as symbols of their victories. Each city had a symbolic plant that it used for the victors' crowns: Olympia presented wreaths of wild olive; Delphi, the laurel of the Pythian Apollo; at Isthmia, the crown was pine; and the Nemeans used wild celery. In the less well know "crown" games, other plants were used: barley at Eleusis; myrtle at Thebes and Argos; and white poplar at Rhodes. The victors were also given a palm branch to hold and they were decorated with ribbons.[5] Then the victors' home cities would award them with prizes such as free meals or free seats at festivals. The "crown" festivals were often called "sacred" festivals. They required treaties among the participating cities to ensure that each city would reward its victorious citizens.

The second type of Greek athletic competition was the "prize" festival. In this type of festival, the host city of the games supplied the prizes for the victorious athletes. The awards at the "prize" festivals were often quite valuable. They ranged from bronze cauldrons to oxen. Sometimes the prizes were products unique to the host city, as were the *amphorae* of olive oil that Athens presented to the victorious athletes at her games. Many new festivals started as prize festivals. If they were successful, they changed to sacred or crown festivals and the responsibility of providing prizes was delegated to the home cities of the contestants.[6]

THE EARLY GAMES

Homer provides the earliest reference to prizes at athletic competitions. In the *Iliad*, Nestor tells of chariot races in Elis with tripods as prizes during the reign of King Augeas of Olympia.[7] Archaeologists have found a series of tripods at Olympia; the earliest date to the tenth century, the latest to about 700 B.C. The reference to tripods as prizes in the *Iliad* indicates that they were used as such during Homer's day and perhaps much earlier.[8]

The earliest extant pictorial representations of athletic contests on mainland Greece are from the eighth century B.C. - the time of Homer and the founding of the Olympic games. The paintings were done in the geometric style on Attic and Argive vases. L. Roller believes that the contests they represent are funeral games.[9]

Homer's account of the funeral games of Patroclus reveals much about the prizes awarded in the heroic age. "But Achilles stayed the folk in that place, and made them sit in wide assembly, and from his ship he brought forth prizes, cauldrons and tripods, and horses and mules and strong oxen,

and fair-girdled women, and grey iron."[10] Prizes were awarded for first through fifth places in the chariot race. The first place winner received a woman skilled in handiwork and a twenty-two measure tripod; the second place winner received a pregnant horse; the third place winner was awarded a new four measure cauldron; fourth prize was two talents of gold; and fifth prize was a new two-handled urn. The winner of the boxing match received a mule and the loser received a two-handled cup. The winner of the wrestling match received a great tripod valued at the worth of twelve oxen and the loser was awarded a woman valued at four oxen. The first three place winners in the foot race received a beautiful silver mixing bowl, a fat ox, and a half talent of gold respectively. The prize for the winner of the contest in armor was the armor that Patroklos had taken from Sarpedon. The winner of the discus throw received a quantity of iron. The winner of the archery contest was presented with a number of double axes and the runner-up received the single axes. A spear and an unused cauldron went to the winner of the javelin contest. A.E. Raubitschek posits that "The prizes given on the occasion of the funeral games may have been taken from the property of the deceased, because, as described in the *Iliad*, they were given not only to the winners but to practically all those present."[11]

From Hesiod and the Hesiodic corpus (c.700 BC) come two more statements about prizes. "Good is she [Hecate] also when men contend at the games, for there too the goddess is with them and profits them: for he who by his might and strength gets the victory wins the rich prize easily with joy, and brings glory to his parents".[12] "Next to them the horsemen were hard set, and they contended and labored for a prize. . . And there was set out for them within the course a great tripod of gold, the splendid work of cunning Hephaestus".[13]

In the first century A.D., Plutarch composed the *Life of Solon*, a biography of the Athenian statesman of the sixth century B.C. Plutarch credited Solon with legislation that awarded large sums of cash to victors in the major festivals.

> In the valuations of sacrificial offerings, at any rate, a sheep and a bushel of grain are reckoned at a *drachma*; the victor at the Isthmian games was to be paid a hundred *drachmas*, and the Olympic victor five hundred; the man who brought in a wolf was given five *drachmas*, and for a wolf's whelp, one; the former sum, according to Demotrius the Phalerian, was the price of an ox, the latter that of a sheep. For although the prices which Solon fixes in his sixteenth table are for choice victims, and naturally many times as great as those for ordinary ones, still, even these are low in comparison with present prices (23.3).

An Athenian victor at Olympia still would have been ineligible to be a member of the *pentacosiomedimnoi*, the wealthiest of Solon's four "classes," unless he met the mandatory property qualifications stated by Aristotle.[14]

A brief inscription on a bronze tablet found at Sybaris in southern Italy reads, "A gift. Kleombrotos son of Dexilaos having won at Olympia and having promised the prize to Athena, dedicated a tithe."[15] The inscription has been dated c. 600 B.C. Since Olympia awarded only olive wreaths, the tithe dedicated by the victor was probably part of the monetary prize awarded by his home town for his victory in the "crown" festival of Olympia.

Besides monetary awards, the home towns of "crown" festival athletes would award free meals and/or stadium tickets to their victors. Xenophanes, (c. 525 B.C.), complained that rewards should be reserved for intellectuals, not athletes.

> Even if a man should win a victory in the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia in the foot races or the *pentathlon* or the wrestling or the painful boxing or in the dreadful struggle which men call *pankration*, even if he should become a most glorious symbol for his fellow citizens to observe, and win a front row seat at the games and his meals at public expense and some especially valuable gift from the state, even if he should win in the horse races, and even if he should accomplish all of these things and not just one of them, he still would not be so valuable as I am. For my wisdom is a better thing than the strength of men or horses. The current custom of honoring strength more than wisdom is neither proper nor just. For the city-state is not a bit more law-abiding for having a good boxer or a pentathlete or a wrestler or a fast runner even though running may be the most honored event in the games of man. There is little joy for a state when an athlete wins at Olympia, for he does not fill the state's coffers.[16]

By the middle of the fifth century, it was common for a city-state to reward her victors with pensions of free meals. One Greek inscription reads, "Those citizens who have won the athletic competitions at Olympia or Delphi or Isthmia or Nemea shall have a free meal every day for the rest of their lives in the *prytaneion* and other honors as well. Also those citizens who have won the *tethrippon* or the *keles* at Olympia or Delphi or Isthmia or Nemea shall have a free meal every day for the rest of their lives in the *prytaneion*."[17] This inscription was found on a marble paving block from Hermes Street in Athens and dates to c. 436 B.C. The words of

this inscription were echoed by Socrates when he appeared before the jury to suggest a "punishment" for himself. Socrates argued, "Well, what is appropriate for a poor man who is a public benefactor and who requires leisure for giving you moral encouragement? Nothing could be more appropriate for such a person than free maintenance at the State's expense. He deserves it much more than any victor in the races at Olympia, whether he wins with a single horse or a pair or a team of four. These people give you the semblance of success, but I give you the reality; they do not need maintenance but I do."[18]

THE FIFTH CENTURY

Herodotus, the fifth century historian, tells us much about Greek athletics. In one of his accounts Democedes, the court physician to Darius, escaped, returned to his native Croton, and sent word to Darius that he was engaged to marry the daughter of Milo the wrestler. Herodotus stated that Milo's "name is held in high esteem by the King. I think that Democedes decided to make this marriage even though it cost him a large sum of money in order to show Darius that he was important in his own homeland."[19] Before the fifth century, athletes of Milo's status were known for their wealth and power and a king, even of a distant land, would have heard of their accomplishments. Croton, Milo's home city, was a Greek polis in southern Italy that supplied more than a fifth of all Olympic victors between 588 and 484 B.C. Milo won at least six Olympic victories between 540 and 516 B.C.[20]

The first contest Herodotus mentioned by name was the one held in honor of the Triopian Apollo. The prize for this festival was a bronze tripod, which the victor was expected to leave in the temple of Apollo. One victor from Halcarnassus took the tripod home with him and thereby caused the expulsion of Halicarnassus from the Dorian hexapolis. Herodotus mentioned another non-Greek festival held at Chemis in Egypt where the prizes were cattle, cloaks and hides. In one passage the historian also comments on the valuable prizes awarded to the victors of the single combat events at funerary occasions in Thrace.[21]

The Olympic games were popular, even during times of war. In an attempt to explain the failure of the Greek allies to reinforce the troops at Thermopylae Herodotus said that the Olympic games were being held. When the Persians were told that the athletes were competing for an olive crown, the Persians asked what type of men would compete with one another for honor rather than money?[22]

Many times Herodotus defined his characters in terms of their athletic records: Cleobis and Biton were described as men who had won prizes in athletic competition; Philip son of Butacides was victorious in the

Olympic games and his wealth was indicated by his ability to furnish his own battleship and crew; the Eretrian general Eualcides won contests in which the winners were crowned; Miltiades, son of Cypselus, won the four-horse chariot race in which the owner, not the driver, was proclaimed the winner; Demaratus of Sparta also won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia; Eurybates of Argos was an expert in the *pentathlon* and played a prominent role in the public affairs of his city; the Spartan Evagoras also owned horses that won chariot races at Olympia; Croesus' gift to Alcmaeon enabled that family to own horses and win prizes at the Olympic games; Cleisthenes of Sicyon not only won the chariot race at Olympia but he took that occasion to announce that he was looking for a husband for his daughter since he knew that the most eligible men would be present at the games; and the only ship from the West to join the Greek forces at Salamis was commended by an athlete named Phayllus from Croton who had been victor three times in the Pythian games.[23]

It is obvious that athletics and political prominence were interrelated in ancient Greece. Herodotus listed victories in festivals alongside victories in battles when he related a man's accomplishments. Often battles were described as if they were athletic events. When Themistocles urged the Greeks to attack the Persians at Salamis, Adeimantos told him, "In the games those who start before the signal are flogged." Themistocles replied, "Yes, but those left at the start win no prizes".[24]

Thucydides also revealed the intimate connection between athletics and politics in this statement of Alcibiades,

> I think, Athenians, that I am worthy of the command. First of all, my deeds, which make me the object of public outcry, actually bring glory not only to my ancestors and myself, but also to my country, and this glory is mixed with practical advantages as well. The Greeks who had been hoping that our city was exhausted by war came to think of our power as even greater than it is because of my magnificent *theoria* at Olympia. I entered seven four-horse chariots, a number never before entered by a private citizen, and I came in first, second, and fourth, and I provided all the trappings worthy of such a victory. For it is the custom that such accomplishments convey honor, and at the same time power is inferred from the achievement.[25]

From c. 530 to 430 B.C., it was the custom to have a professional poet compose a hymn to be sung at the celebration of an athlete's victory. The victor, his friends or the sponsoring town would assume the expense for these "Epinikia." Pindar wrote many such hymns. In his *Nemean Ode* X,

Pindar told of the enormous variety of prizes won by the Theaeus family of Argos, including heirloom vases filled with olive oil, wool cloaks, silver cups, and numerous bronze objects. From the odes, we learn that it was not unusual for families to have had several generations of successful athletes. Pindar mentioned many such people as: Hippocleas of Thessaly, 490 B.C., Megacles of Athens, 486 B.C., Timodemus of Acharnae, 485 B.C. and Pythias of Aegina, 485 B.C.[26] Pindar also told of a victorious wrestler who, in 468 B.C., won a warm cloak at the games at Pellana.[27] In the *Olympian Ode* VII, Pindar enumerated the works of art that were given as prizes at the games at Arcadi and Thebes. In the *Pythian Ode* VIII, Pindar stated, "He who has won has a fresh beauty and is all the more graceful for his high hopes as he flies on the wings of his manly deeds with his mind far above the pursuit of money."[28]

Some athletes, however, must have had their minds on money because they became full-time athletes and made athletic competition their primary occupation. One such man was Theogenes of Thasos who is reported to have won between 1300 and 1400 victories. In the early twentieth century, Gardiner referred to Theogenes as a "pothunter" and "Shamateur" who traveled from city to city "picking up prizes."[29] The ancients did not have such a negative view of Theogenes; in fact, he was made into a hero and a shrine was erected in his honor. An inscription, c. 100 A.D., was discovered outside the shrine of Theogenes. It is in the form of an offering box and reads, "Those who sacrifice to Theogenes are to contribute not less than three [dollars] in the offering box. Anyone who does not make a contribution as written above will be remembered. The money collected each year is to be given to the High Priest, and he is to save it until it has reached a total of [$]16,000. When this total has been collected, the Boule and the People shall decide whether it is to be spent for some ornamentation or for repairs to the shrine of Theogenes."[30]

Nevertheless, full-time professional athletes did not dominate all fifth century athletic competitions. Informal and impromptu contests were still held. Xenophon mentioned a festival held by the Greek troops in 40 B.C. to celebrate their safe arrival in Trapezus. The prizes at these games were hides.[31]

THE FOURTH CENTURY

By the beginning of the fourth century, many athletes had turned to sport as a full-time occupation. Athletics was a means whereby a poor man could improve his position in life. In a speech written by Isocrates, Alcibiades complained that athletes are "of low birth, inhabitants of petty states, and of mean education." According to H.W. Pleket, some factors in the increase of professionalism in athletics were "the democratization

of sports (due to the rise of the *gymansium*), the expansion of the number of games ('sacred' and prize-games); the development of scientific training-methods and, last but not least, the impoverishment caused by the Peloponnesian War (compelling people to offer themselves as mercenaries; others went in for professional athletics)..."[32]

Two inscriptions from the early fourth century indicate that olive oil was used for prizes in all the events and that it was not only awarded in great quantities but that it was quite valuable as well. Athens awarded as many as 1300 *amphorae* of olive oil at the Panathenaean festival in 380 B.C., in prizes varying from six to sixty jars.[33] The recipient, if he chose to do so, could sell his oil at a price of twelve *drachmas* an *amphora*.[34] The winner of a chariot race received on hundred *amphorae* of olive oil.[35] This prize would have equaled 1200 *drachmas* or the equivalent of 1200 days pay, more than four year's wages for the average Athenian worker, and it was tax-free.

The olive oil was collected as a tax from Athenian landholders. The people of Athens elected ten *Athlothetai* (Commissioners of Games) who were responsible for the contests and the prizes. The Boule and the Treasurer of Military Funds supervised the manufacture of the prizes for the Panathenaic festival. Aristotle wrote, "The prizes are, for the winners in the musical contests, in silver and gold decorations; for those who have won the contest in physical fitness and beauty (*euandria*), a shield; but for the winner in gymnastic contests and horse races, olive oil."[36]

In addition to the value of the olive oil, the value of the vase itself was considerable. By 530 B.C., the shape and decoration of the vases had become standardized and although black-figure vases were no longer popular for other purposes, that style remained the traditional style for prize vases. On one side of the vase was a figure of Athena and on the other was a depiction of the athletic event for which the vase was awarded. The vases bore the official Panathenaic inscription and later vases, by 375/4 B.C., also bore the name of the archon. The contract for the production of the prize *amphorae* was awarded, quite fittingly, by competition.[37]

CONCLUSION

From at least the times of Homer and Hesiod, the Greeks participated in athletics for prizes. It appears that the term "amateur" was unknown to the Greeks.[39] Although the evidence indicates that most of the competitors were from the wealthy aristocracy, it also shows that many athletes were not. Athletic contests in Greece were open to all competitors, regardless of their wealth or rank. The Greeks attached no stigma to accepting prizes for athletic accomplishments; such criticisms seem to have been reserved for those who accepted rewards for teaching.

The two types of athletic festivals were the "crown" festival and the "prize" festival. In the former, prizes were presented by the home city; in the latter, prizes were supplied by the host city. The prizes ranged from pensions (in the form of free meals or seats at events), to valuable, albeit utilitarian, prizes such as woolen cloaks, oxen, precious metals, and cash. Most often it was "all or nothing" and prizes went only to the first place victor. But sometimes, particularly in funerary games, prizes were awarded for several place winners as well. The fact that Greek athletes accepted prizes for their athletic abilities does not mean that they competed for solely pencuniary reasons. The weight of the evidence shows that Greek athletes also competed for the love of competition and the desire to be first.

NOTES

[1] P. de Coubertin, "Why I Revived the Olympic Games," *Fortnightly Review* 90 (1908), 110-115.

[2] T. Woody, "Professionalism and the Decay of Greek Athletics," *School and Society* 47 (1938), 521-28.

[3] E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics in the Ancient World* (Oxford, 1930), 99

[4] D. C. Young, "Professionalism in Archaic and Classical Greek Athletics," AW 7 (1983), 45. David Young presented a paper, "Professionalism and Record Keeping in Archaic and Classical Greece," to APA in 1979 and he is about to publish a book, *The Myth of Greek Amateur Athletics* (Chicago 1983/4).

[5] H. A. Harris, *Greek Athletes and Athletics* (Bloomington, 1964), 36.

[6] Ibid., 153-4.

[7] *Iliad* (11.698-702).

[8] A. E. Raubitschek, "The Agonistic Spirit in Greek Culture," AW 7 (1983), 5.

[9] L. Roller, "Funeral Games in Greek Art," *American Journal of Archeology* 85 /(1981), 113-16.

[10] *Iliad* (23.256-897)

[11] A.E. Raubitschek, 7.

[12] Theogony, 435-8.

[13] Scutum, 301-13.

[14] Young, n.4 supra, 48, states that a workman in classical times had to labor eight and a half days for the price of a sheep, or one drachma. Young does not state the source for his figures but they are contradicted by the findings of J.H. Randall, "The Erectheum Workmen," AJA 57 (1953), 199-210, who believes that an average wage for a workman during the classical age would have been one drachma per day. This wage is also suggested by F.J. Frost, *Greek Society* (Lexington, Mass., 1980). Even if one takes the figure of one drachma per day, the Olympic victor would have won the equivalent of five hundred days' pay. Ath. Pol. (7.3).

[15] *Bull. Epig.* (1967) 569, no. 697.

[16] Xenophanes, fragment 2.

[17] *Inscriptiones Greaecae* I^2 (77.11-17).

[18] Plato, *Apology*, 36d.

[19] Herodotus, 3.137.

[20] Young, n.4 supra, 49.

[21] Herodotus, 1.44; 2.91; 5.8.

[22] Ibid., 7.206; 8.26.

[23] Ibid., 1.31; 5.47; 5.102; 6.35; 6.70; 6.103; 6.12; T. S. Brown, "Herodotus' Views on Athletics," AW 7 (1983), 17-29. Herodotus, 8.47.

[24] Herodotus, 8.59.

[25] Thucydides, 6.16.2.

[26] Harris, n. 5 supra, 123-25. Pindar mentioned: Hippocleas of Thessaly, 490 B.C. (*Pyth. Ode* X); Megacles of Athens, 486 B.C. (*Pyth Ode* VII); Timodemus of Acharnae, 485 B.C. (*Nem. Ode* II); Pythias of Aegina, 485 B.C. (*Nem. Ode* V); Melissus of Thebes, 478 B.C. (*Isthm. Ode* IV); the Lampon family of Aegina, 476 B.C. (*Isthm. Ode* V and VI); and the Timasarchus clan of Aegina, 473 B.C.(*Nem. Ode* IV). The list is from R.S. Robinson, *Sources for the History of Greek Athletics* (Chicago, 1970), 252 n.92.

[27] Pindar, *Olym. Ode IX* Frost, n.11 supra, 65, values such a woolen cloak at 5 to 20 drachmas, or $200. to $800. based on a wage of one drachma/ or $40.00 per day today.

[28] A full discussion of athletics and Pindar can be found in H.M. Lee, "Athletic Arete in Pindar," AW 7 (1983), 31-37.

[29] Harris, n.5 supra, 116; Gardiner, n.2, 101.

[30] *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique*, 64-65 (1940-41), 175. S.G. Miller, *Arete: Ancient Writers, Papyri and Inscriptions on the History and Ideals of Greek Athletics* (Chicago, 1979) 61; the dollar amounts are provided by S.G. Miller who uses $8.00 wage per day as his base, a figure that seems too low to both Young, n. 4 supra, 47, and to Miller himself, who, in his introduction (iii), states that the figure is conservative; "My rate of exchange is, then, clearly not excessive, but the figures which sometimes result seem to be so. It is difficult to believe that, for example, Theogenes of Thasos could pay a fine of some $96,000 or that Democedes of Croton might be paid a salary of a like amount. . ."

[31] Anabasis, 4.8.25-28.

[32] Isocrates, *Team of Horses*, 25.33. H.W. Pleket, "Some Aspects of the History of the Athletic Guilds," ZPE 10 (1973), 198.

[33] *IG* II^2, 2311.

[34] *IG* II^2, 1356. If we use Frost's suggested figure of $40.00 per day (n. 11 supra) and combine it with Randall's estimate of one drachma for a day's pay in antiquity (n. 22 supra); 12 X $40.00 = $480.00 per amphora; if the victor had won the top prize of sixty amphorae, it would have been valued at $28,800. Whatever the modern equivalent might be, in antiquity, the prize would have equaled 720 days' pay.

[35] *IG* II, 965.

[36] Arist. AP 60; 49.3; 60.4.

[37] J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases* (New York, 1974), 167-77. the name of the archon of the year when the oil was pressed was the name recorded on the vases. T.B.L. Webster, *Potter and Patron in Classical Athens* (London, 1972), 11.

[38] E.N. Gardiner, n.2 supra, states that "idiotes" is the Greek term for "amateur." Young, n.4 supra, 45, argues that "idiotes" means "untrained" or "non-competitor" and in no way means "amateur" in our modern sense of the word.

Book Reviews

Criminal Justice in Colonial America, 1606-1660. By Bradley Chapin. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1983. Pp.xiii + 203. Notes, selected cases, appendix, bibliography, index. $18.00

In *Criminal Justice in Colonial America*, Professor Chapin attempts to lay the foundation for future scholarship in American legal history. Although this field of research is not new, Chapin's contribution is quite unique. Many previous scholars have dealt with individual colonies and their specific legal developments, but Chapin's work points in a new direction. Chapin's discussion centers upon criminal law during the first fifty years of English colonization. Each of the seven colonies founded prior to 1660 is compared. In doing so, he has provided scholars with citations from the colonial court records and has compiled a solid amount of statistical information to support his arguments.

Chapin renounces the early interpretations of American colonial law based upon the "frontier thesis." Instead, Chapin turns to the word "carry," as opposed to the more standard interpretation, based upon "reception." This usage coincides with recent scholarship on colonial America, including such works as David Grayson Allen's *In English Ways* and T.H. Breen's *Puritans and Adventurers*. The concept of "carrying" law across the Atlantic admits that English law was basic to American legal development. Those initial fifty years saw the amalgamation of the three sources of substantive criminal law by the colonists: English law, indigenous developments, and Biblical interpretation. Chapin adds to this a sense of pragmatism that forced early settlers to realized the futility of

such punishments as the death penalty for theft or the continued use of corruption of the blood. In the end, the colonists created a system that was much more humane than the English system, according to Chapin.

Chapin interprets this pragmatism as being the fulfillment of the seventeenth century desire for reform. Inherent not only in the minds of Englishmen, but also in the colonial perception, the law had a special relationship to the question of discretionary authority on both sides of the Atlantic. Leaving a world of unjustified authority, English settlers set out to fulfill the "liberal traditions" of the common law and Magna Carta (p. 146). In fulfilling these traditions, Chapin concurs that the colonists improvised somewhat by centralizing power in fewer hands.

The thesis becomes less distinct when Chapin examines legal development between 1660 and 1789. Although he admits a certain amount of "Anglicization" within the American colonies, he denies that a distinct American criminal law was created throughout the new nation. This is the period of "reception", according to Chapin. But, Chapin makes these claims without any substantiation, perhaps in the hope of writing an associated volume covering this period.

In conclusion, Professor Chapin and his work provide an important addition to the historiography of American legal development. His thesis combines aspects of the three major interpretations described by Stanley Katz in his contribution to *British Colonial America*, edited by Jack P. Green and J.R. Pole. There are elements of both imitation and the pragmatic reforming of English laws, as well as the "life cycle" model within *Criminal Justice*. Most important, though, is the light that he sheds upon the social history of colonial America in the development of strong law through reason and humanity.

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Nothing But Freedom: Emancipation and Its Legacy. By Eric Foner. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983. Pp. xii + 110. Notes, index. $14.95.

In December 1865, former Confederate General Robert V. Richardson remarked that "emancipated slaves own nothing, because nothing but freedom has been given to them." (p. 55) In his latest book, *Nothing But Freedom*, Columbia University Professor Eric Foner focuses on the effects of slave emancipation, not only in the American South, but in Haiti, the

British Caribbean and eastern and southern Africa. Foner states that during Reconstruction the experiences of former Southern slaves were unique when compared with the experiences of former slaves in the Caribbean and Africa. Such a comparison is essential "... to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the problem of emancipation and its aftermath." (p.2)

Nothing But Freedom is a compilation of the Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures the author delivered in March 1982, at Louisiana State University. Foner emphasizes W.E.B. DuBois' earlier conclusions that the Reconstruction period of American history was a "radical" experiment in democracy. The United States set itself apart from other emancipated societies when the former slaves were given political rights, some degree of political influence and power. In the Caribbean, the British colonial government made the former slaves a totally dependent, powerless work force, while in Haiti, a system of forced labor was imposed on the former slaves.

Foner's argument is persuasive. The experiences of the freedmen in the United States were unique due to their potential political power. But the real or actual political influence the former slaves possessed varied a great deal throughout the South and the nation as a whole. The political rights granted to the former slaves were, to some degree, thrust upon them, not secured by themselves. If emancipation in the South could have been achieved in a less destructive manner than civil war, perhaps the experiences of freedmen during Reconstruction would not have been very different from those in the Caribbean.

The comparative analysis of emancipated slaves in the United States and other societies, which is designed by Foner to expose the radical nature of Reconstruction democracy, is only valid if the experience of emancipation is constant. If political rights, power, and influence had been granted on the same scale in Haiti as in the United States, what would have been the result? Despite these questions, *Nothing But Freedom* is an interesting contribution to the ongoing debate of continuity between the Old and New South. The historical profession should anxiously await Foner's forthcoming volume on the Reconstruction era in the New American Nation Series.

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Land and Revolution in Iran, 1960-1980. By ERIC J. HOOGLUND. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982. Pp. xvii + 191. Notes, bibliography, and index. $19.95

Eric J. Hooglund's *Land and Revolution in Iran*, 1960-1980 is a valuable addition to the growing literature on the Iranian countryside. Few western authors have undertaken the research demanded to write an up-to-date, comprehensive account of the Iranian peasantry. Only studies by A.K.S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia* (1969) and *The Persian Land Reform, 1962-1966* (1969), Nikki Keddie's *Historical Obstacles to Agrarian Change in Iran* (1960), and a few articles in edited collections, have been written on this important subject.

Hooglund's stated objective is to evaluate "the land reform's social, economic, and political impact upon rural Iran in general" (p. x). The introductory chapters provide the non-specialist with an introduction to the rural setting and the many divisions within agrarian society, while also examining the actual implementation of the land reform law of January 9, 1962. In Part I Hooglund identifies different layers of authority. At the top there are large landowners, whom he subdivides into individual and institutional owners and renters. Next are the large landowners' representatives, the *Mubashirs* and village headmen *Kadkhudas*, who were "relatively free to behave arbitrarily with the peasants" (p. 16), and who were generally supported by the government. He divides villagers into two main categories: peasant villagers who possessed the right to cultivate (the *Nasaq*), and the *Khwushnishins*, a heterogeneous class comprising some forty percent of the villagers. Hooglund subdivides the *Khwushnishins* into a group of tradesmen and creditors, a larger group, which provided non-agricultural products; and a majority, which constituted the rural proletariat. (pp. 17-22) Hooglund believes that the elite of *Khwushnishins* held an intermediate position between the landlords and the peasant villagers who had the *Nasaq*. He concludes that all peasants were relatively powerless and that their major concern was to avoid a worsening situation. (p. 35)

An important feature of this volume is Hooglund's brief survey of the historical background of Iranian land reform. He points out how such reform was advocated as early as the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1911, but was successfully resisted by powerful landed interests. Hooglund makes plain in his central thesis that what made the 1962 land law possible was the deliberate effort of the central government to break the power base of the large landlords in order to extend effective governmental authority to the countryside, and to create a new base of popular support for the regime. A second major area explored by the author concerns the actual implementation of the program of land reform.

Hooglund offers an analysis of the difficulties and ultimate failure of the program. The majority of peasants (75%) obtained less than enough land for subsistence living. Hooglund argues that as a result of the failure of the land reform program, the the government did not achieve its political goal of gaining rural support, and "the majority of villagers were unprepared to support the Shah" in 1978 and 1979. (p. 148)

Although few will disagree with Professor Hooglund's conclusions, his writings contain a discrepancy. In *Land and Revolution* he identifies three phases of land reform (pp. 55-73), but in his earlier article, "Rural and Socio-Economic Organization in Transition: The Case of Iran's Buneh," in *Continuity and Change in Modern Iran* (Suny Press, 1981), p. 161, he mentions four distinct phases. He provides no explanation for the revision in his more recent work. Furthermore, the preface, contents, and illustrations of the volume suggest that Hooglund concentrated his field research in central and southwestern Iran where the agricultural patterns differ from those in the North, particularly in the Caspian Sea strip. His generalizations may therefore not apply to the country as a whole. Nevertheless, the primary sources and field research that Hooglund does include make *Land and Revolution* a much welcomed study.

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Women in the Middle Ages: Religion, Marriage and Letters. By ANGELA M. LUCAS. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983. Pp. 215. Bibliography, index. $25.00.

Perhaps no area of medieval studies has been as neglected over the years as women's history. Despite increased interest during the past decade, the fundamental economic and social status of women, particularly in the early Middle Ages remains largely unknown. Angela Lucas' survey attempts to remedy this problem in several areas, among them, religion, marriage, and letters. It is unfortunate, however, that the book is largely derivative in nature, betraying the promise of its title by focusing primarily on women in English vernacular literature.

Important weaknesses of the book lie in the author's prejudices in subject and sources. In the preface she admits that her fundamental focus on England and its vernacular literature serves as the paradigm for discussion throughout the work (p.xi). Continental sources, such as Gregory of Tours, do appear from time to time, but always as a sidelight to England. The author also juxtaposes sources as if historical context

somehow might not influence points of view. The most striking example of this disjuncture occurs when a discussion of virginity places Tertullian, Cyprian, and a thirteenth-century English treatise on marriage in sequence, without any explanation of the connection. (pp. 23-4)

Lucas relies heavily on secondary sources in her analysis of non-literary subjects. Much of her discussion of marriage and convent life is derived from Suzanne Wemple and Eileen Power. There is a general reluctance to discuss social themes in depth. Attention to the important work being done in demographic studies might have presented a clearer picture of her analysis of women's interests in the marriage arrangement. (p. 80ff) The absence of a treatment of *wergild*, the value assigned to an individual in Germanic law as a monetary payment to avoid blood-feud, is also unfortunate. Historians are only gradually recognizing the importance of women, particularly of childbearing age, in the early Germanic laws.

The final sections of the book, chapters nine to eleven, describe the literary role of the medieval woman. Lucas' description reveals the range of women's artistic activities in the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. Although she presents a fine survey, there is little that is new in these chapters. The format is mainly a succession of brief literary biographies largely concerned with England. The final two chapters consider women as "patrons of literature" and the rise of "literate lay women", but the narrative does not go beyond a standard discussion of the world of romance. Consideration of new genres of literature such as the *Book of Hours*, a devotional book intended for a lay, frequently female, audience might have brought the bourgeois world of the late medieval town into better focus.

Angela Lucas has written a good description of the role of medieval women but she has not analyzed their condition in any depth. The book's reliance on secondary sources makes it unsuitable for primary research. Nowhere is material presented that adds to the picture painted by Eileen Power's classic, *Medieval Women*, written some forty years ago. The jacket of this book promises a "highly original study"; Lucas provides instead a survey of ground already covered.

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Inevitable Revolutions: The United States in Central America. By WALTER LAFEBER. New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1983. Pp. xiv + 357. Maps, bibliography, index. $18.95

With this book, Walter LaFeber makes a timely attempt to synthesize the history of an important aspect of American foreign policy. He gives us a comprehensive, thematic picture of United States-Central American relations from the early nineteenth century to the present, a picture that fills in the details of the patterns that seem so evident on an impressionistic level whenever one thinks about U.S. policy in Central America. LaFeber argues that Washington's policy has been consistent; that the United States has been the force which has dominated the development of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, especially since World War One, and thus has also been the force against which those nations have rebelled.

The first part of the book describes an informal system of control that the United States set up and maintained during the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries. What was unique to this system, which LaFeber terms "neodependency," was the United States' tendency to use political and especially military power to enforce dependence. Other world powers, such as Britain, had usually relied on simple "dependency," which amounted to applying economic leverage through the control Central American raw materials exports.

The development of this system was not haphazard. Rather it was a long series of "well-considered policies." (p. 18) These policies were based on four principles that had proven effective over the years: "Confidence in capitalism, a willingness to use military force, a fear of foreign influence, and a dread of revolutionary instability." (p.18) By examining United States-Central American relations in the context of these four themes, LaFeber is able to discern continuity and consistency between events widely separated in time. He discusses the mid-nineteenth century Anglo-American conflicts over Central America and concludes that therein lie the origins of Washington's recurrent fear of "ominous foreign influences" in the region. (p. 29) In the same way he demonstrates, in a closing chapter on the "Remains of the System," how Ronald Reagan has followed previous policies. The Reagan administration has also attempted to apply the time-tested techniques of political and military force to Central America in order to maintain stability. But the widespread revolutions of the 1970s have rendered the Central American objects of North American policy less controllable than ever before.

LaFeber's multifarious analysis is also the source of some salient flaws. The second part of the book, which covers the post-World War Two years, falls into a detailed yet wandering narrative. Some of the material

contradicts LaFeber's basic arguments. This is evident in his failure to really explain the United States' participation in the 1948 revolution in Costa Rica, and Costa Rican exceptionalism in general. It is also noticeable when he criticizes the second-term Eisenhower administration's policy, while at the same time noting that it realistically rejected the same sort of policy that he later criticizes the Kennedy administration for adopting in the Alliance for Progress.

Part of this problem stems from LaFeber's tendency to view the United States and Central America as monoliths. The Central American nations appear as homogeneous entities with very little notice given to the moderate, reformist elements that existed within them. The United States is subject to even greater reduction because LaFeber sees U.S. foreign policy as having been shaped exclusively by powerful politicians and business interests. Public opinion has had little or no effect, since "throughout the twentieth century, the overwhelming number of North Americans could not have identified each of the five Central American nations on a map, let alone ticked off the region's sins that called for an application of U.S. force." (p. 13) By discounting the effect of public attitudes, LaFeber confines his analysis entirely to North American leaders. While this is possibly accurate for the early years of the republic, it distorts the history of the twentieth century. LaFeber may be correct in asserting the public's lack of knowledge, but he does not demonstrate that ignorance ever prevented opinionation. He recognizes the importance of public opinion in spite of himself, when, for example, he argues that Woodrow Wilson's moralistic rhetoric regarding U.S. non-recognition of Costa Rica in 1917 was simply a front to hide support of a North American oil concessionaire. If it was not real, then why was it necessary, unless to convince the public? Why did United Fruit Company officials, during the now-infamous Guatemalan episode of the mid-1950s, feel constrained to fly U.S. journalists to Guatemala to report UFCO's side of the story?

Inevitable Revolutions is finally only partly successful. LaFeber has indeed clearly explained what happened in United States-Central American relations over time. But he has not adequately explained why. He has demonstrated consistency and continuity, but not cause. To succeed in this would require recognizing that both the Central American nations and the United States are diverse societies, and that in the latter, public attitudes, whether well-informed or not, might have a causal effect on policy.

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Minding America's Business: The Decline and Rise of the American Economy. By IRA C. MAGAZINER and ROBERT B. REICH. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1982. Pp. xii + 387. Tables, exhibits, index. $25.00

Minding America's Business is both an indictment of America's current economic problems and policies and a panacea for United States' recovery of its position in domestic and world markets. The aspects of American business failures which led to the United States' lack of competitiveness on the international scene are focused on in this book. At one time America dominated industries such as steel and color televisions, but now Europe and Japan are equal or superior to the United States in these areas. Magaziner, a former member of the Boston Consulting Group, and Reich, the director of policy planning in the Federal Trade Commission during the Carter Administration, see the remedy to America's decline in productive capacity over the past fifteen years in the adoption of a coherent and coordinated industrial policy in which the government will take an active role in promoting and supporting business.

In the past the U.S. Government subsidized and directed selected industries' especially during both world wars . At the conclusion of these crises, however, the private sector regained dominance over many of the industries and as a result, the government decreased its support. It is clear to Magaziner and Reich that this "laissez-faire" approach, which has continued into the present, has hampered America from competing effectively with other nations.

A move away from Reagan's supply-side economics, which virtually excludes government, toward a policy embraced by most other industrialized nations is advocated by the authors. Japanese and European business policies are contrasted to Americas's unsophisticated industrial program, which relies on a decentralized system and divides policy-making among the various state and national government bureaus and business organizations. Other nations possess central agencies which provide strategies and promote economic programs and have a highly trained civil service, while America depends on a bureaucracy with little business expertise or experience. Japan and many European countries phase out declining industries and replace them with new businesses; the U.S., in many instances, supports failing businesses such as Chrysler. Foreign industrial policy seeks to promote exports; instead, the U.S. seeks to protect its industries from imports. Finally, other countries provide some means for the different segments of industry (labor, business, and government) to meet and develop a consensual industrial policy, while the U.S. has no such coordinating mechanism.

In order to make American competitiveness and production capacity

equal to that of other industrial powers the authors recommend more government intervention in the economy through a corporatist arrangement in which government and business work in tandem to coordinate production, introduce and promote new products, ease out declining businesses and support growing ones, while providing solutions to socially destructive labor problems. With business and government operating hand in hand, different strategies which would anticipate problems or upswings in the economy and adjust measures accordingly are possible . Corporatism provides for a structured economic organization in which the private and public sectors strive for a common goal and as a consequence, both parties equally benefit.

Minding America's Business is another in a long line of recent prescriptive books which attempt to find a solution to the United States' declining economic power. The authors' opinions are helpful and valid, but Magaziner and Reich conclude their book long before offering any concrete answers to the problems. Instead of suggesting institutional arrangements, the authors fall back on "the U.S. is not a nation of planners"(p.378), and criticize the present structure. Thus, the reader is left hanging as to constructive measures to help America's economy.

Thomas W. Zeiler
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A Better World: The Great Schism: Stalinism and the American Intellectuals. By William L. O'Neill. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982. Pp. 447. Photos, index. $17.95

William O'Neill's book is a richly-detailed and thoroughly-researched account of the intellectual left in America between the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939 and the end of the Cold War. O'Neill has taken great pains to draw three dimensional characters, capturing the complicated political, ideological and personal debates which separated those he calls "fellow-travelers," "progressives" and "anti-Stalinists." He demonstrates that Stalin's Russia was the issue which divided these three groups, tracing the subtle shifts in each's opinions from progressive ascendancy during World War II to anti-Stalinism in the post-war years. In doing so, he raises some interesting questions about the impact of Stalinism on foreign policy as well as intellectual integrity. Yet this is only half of his story. He also tries to step beyond the moral framework he feels glorifies the progressives and villifies the anti-Stalinists, and winds up moralizing from the opposite point of view.

O'Neill attributes the anti-Stalinists' bad press to those who fret over the past with tiresome rightousness, but his own work conveys a similarly smug sense of right and wrong, terms he uses with great regularity. He confines himself to an occasional editorial comment throughout most of his book, tracing the decline of progressivism and the simultaneous rise of anti-Stalinism in a fairly even-handed way through the war years, post-war problems in Eastern Europe, the fall of China, the rise of McCarthy, and Korea. In his conclusions, however, he throws caution to the winds, and comes out swinging at Lillian Hellman, Christopher Lasch and Victor Navasky, all of whom have written what O'Neill calls "apologies for Stalinists." (p. 374) He, on the other hand, contends that while progressives met the challenges of fascism, McCarthyism and the Vietnam War, they "failed to identify Stalinism as the principal enemy of freedom and culture after World War II, while the anti-Stalinists were on target every time." (p. 351) This polemic becomes all the more contradictory in light of what he tells us elsewhere; on the subject of Asia, for example, progressives were "right" (p. 199), while anti-Stalinists "sometimes went too far" (p. 377) in their desire to contain communism. The only way O'Neill can extricate himself from this contradiction is to fall back on the same sort of double standard he deplores in American Stalinists. Perhaps he is actually delivering them a compliment by expecting more of them than the anti-Stalinists, but certainly his contention that those called before HUAC might put aside their "schoolyard code of ethics" (p. 327) and name names in order "to reassure the public" (p. 326) is asking quite a lot of individuals he believes were intellectually dishonest.

An equally troubling issue is the matter of precisely who O'Neill's anti-Stalinist heroes are. He clearly distinguishes progressives from fellow-travelers, but is more disingenuous about their opponents. What about Eugene Lyons, James Burnham and Max Eastman, all virulent anti-Stalinists who shifted from the left to the far right, and hardly merit the honors O'Neill heaps on his anti-Stalinists? The alert reader will learn in a footnote to the conclusion that the more rightwing anti-Stalinists were anti-Communists, "who were often as bad as American Communists, even if in a better cause." (p. 377) Not only is this distinction misleading, it is perhaps only on account of it that O'Neill is able to reach the conclusions he does.

A Better World adds a tremendous amount of information to our knowledge of the intellectual left after the "Red Decade" of the 1930s, bringing the story begun by Frank Warren, Daniel Aaron and others to its conclusion. However, it should come with a caveat reader label to remind

us that O'Neill has not avoided the moralizing of earlier historians, but only recast their heroes and villains.

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JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy. By HERBERT S. PARMET. New York: Dial Press, 1983. Pp. vii+407. Notes, index. $19.95.

In the years immediately following the death of John F. Kennedy, his reputation reached almost legendary proportions, aided in part by flattering accounts of his presidency written by administration insiders. In more recent years critics have subjected his term in office to stinging analysis, accusing him of raising national expectations but failing to deliver concrete results. Now, twenty years after his assassination in Dallas on November 22, 1963, Herbert S. Parmet has written the first balanced, scholarly treatment of the Kennedy administration. In *JFK: The Presidency of John F. Kennedy*, a sequal to his 1980 book, *Jack: The Struggles of John F. Kennedy*, the author forever does away with the Camelot mythology while remaining sympathetic with what Kennedy was trying to do.

Parmet cites an impressive array of sources, including materials at the John F. Kennedy Library and nearly all relevant secondary works. He does a fine job of exposing some of the government's inner workings, of revealing the sometimes tenuous control a president has even within his own administration, and in explaining how political factors can subtly influence presidential decisions. The author also delves into Kennedy's personal life: his relationship with his brother Bobby, the continual struggle with physical problems, his ability to remain cool in the midst of crisis, and his marital infidelity.

Parmet observes that Kennedy was not always politically astute. He had a tendency, particularly on domestic issues, to remain aloof from Congress and to leave the essential legwork to others. Kennedy particulary received much credit for the advances in civil rights during his administration, yet much of the movement's strength grew from the belief that Kennedy would support it with the full weight of the federal government. Initially, Kennedy was not aggressive in supporting civil rights. For several months he delayed issuing an executive order for open housing, did not push for legislation fearing that it would keep Congress from acting on other issues, and frequently waited for violence to erupt

before involving the executive branch. Eventually the president did provide direction from the White House and the Kennedy Justice Department went far beyond the Eisenhower administration in enforcing existing legislation and court orders. Kennedy-appointed federal judges sometimes played key roles in breaking down segregation and discrimination, and an extensive civil rights bill was introduced that passed after his death. Kennedy did not lead the civil rights movement but was pushed along by it.

In foreign affairs, Kennedy faced one crisis after another, but Parmet generally gives him a negative rating in diplomacy. In spite of its high popularity, the Bay of Pigs incident is portrayed as a complete failure. The Alliance for Progress produced few changes in Latin America, and Parmet speculates that had Kennedy lived, he would probably have remained committed in Vietnam. JFK is given high praise, however, for the nuclear test ban treaty as an important first step in reducing both the nuclear arms race and cold war tensions.

In a brief epilogue, Parmet portrays Kennedy as a president whose willingness to demonstrate toughness in foreign relations helped to create potential disasters around the globe. His verdict on domestic matters is also harsh. To this assessment, however, Parmet adds some perspective:

> "If Kennedy was a 'cold warrior', who was not in his day? ...His American University speech and the test ban treaty were bold moves for those cold-war years. ...The face that he put on the national purpose through such programs as the Peace Corps and the Alliance for Progress, whatever their limitations, was at least consistent with the idealism much of the world preferred to associate with America" (p.354).

Parmet's fine book provides us with a new place to start in examining the controversial legacy of President John F. Kennedy.

Mitchell K. Hall
University of Kentucky

The Kingdom of Leon-Castilla Under Queen Urraca, 1109-1126. By Bernard F. Reilly. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982. Pp. xx+401. Bibliography, illustrations, maps, notes, index. $32.50.

In this work Bernard Reilly investigates the seventeen year reign of Queen Urraca of Leon-Castile, and presents us with the first major biography of the first woman to rule a Spanish kingdom. Traditionally,

historians have viewed Urraca's reign as an interlude between the more "brilliant" reigns of her father Alfonso VI, and her son Alfonso VII. Her political career has been portrayed as one of incompetence, civil war, and economic dislocation. Professor Reilly's book clears up these misconceptions, but he does more than merely dismiss the negative image of Urraca. By examining 118 charters and documents of the queen, almost a thousand private documents, and contemporary chronicles; he demonstrates that Urraca was not the weak ruler historians have made her out to be. She was shrewd, strong, and quite capable of decisive action.

In the first six chapters, Reilly gives a narrative of the queen's reign. He presents, in a very coherent fashion, the often confusing and complex political and diplomatic relations Urraca maintained with the papacy, Aragon, Portugal, the French, and the various noble and ecclesiastical factions within Leon and Castile during the period of the Reconquest of Spain. Urraca not only had to fight the Almoravids; she faced rebellions from the towns and nobility, as well as war with her half-sister Teresa of Portugal and her husband Alfonso I of Aragon. She certainly came to the throne in a period of turbulence and disorder. The author argues that while she initially followed her father's policy, she encountered situations where she had to purposely break from previous policy and/or establish a novel approach. We therefore find the queen breaking off her Aragonese marriage, and eventually obtaining a truce with Portugal and Aragon. Unable to obtain Urraca's kingdoms, Teresa and Alfonso reluctantly focus their energies on their own respective kingdoms.

In the second half of the book Professor Reilly gives a panoramic view of the institutions Urraca had to deal with during her reign. He examines the officials in her government and at the court (including the important notaries); the role played by the bishops; the functions of the counts and castellans; and the sometimes rebellious town governments with whom the queen had to deal. Reilly's treatment of these various groups is a bit superficial and disappointing. His primary purpose, however, is to place them all in the larger picture of Queen Urraca's reign and this he does very well indeed.

Bernard Reilly's book is both well written and a piece of sound scholarship. He presents us with the first well researched itinerary of Urraca's reign, and periodically he provides an examination of some of the pertinent paleographic analysis. Reilly's thesis, that Urraca was a formidable ruler and an astute politician, is well supported by his evidence. Given the circumstances it is difficult to imagine if either her father or her son could have accomplished as much; in fact, the latter really did not expand on her gains during his own reign. Queen Urraca is unique because she ruled not as a regent or as a queen-mother, but as the actual monarch of two kingdoms. Reilly's book is a welcome contribution

to a period of medieval Spanish history for which there is still so much to do. It is also one of the latest examples of the many excellent monographs and studies produced by a school of American historians of medieval Spain which has emerged in the last twenty years.

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The Structure of American Medical Practice, 1875-1941. By George Rosen. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983. Pp. vii + 152. Illustrations, bibliography, index. $9.95.

George Rosen's death in 1977 brought to a close a distinguished career as a teacher and medical historian. Rosen commands remembrance for his enviable inventory of publications and his contributions to the social history of medicine. The present book, a continuation of the Richard Harrison Shryock Lectures delivered by the author in 1976 at the University of Pennsylvania, was intended to span the century from 1875 to 1975. However, only that portion of the manuscript covering the period 1875 to 1941 was completed by Dr. Rosen; Charles E. Rosenberg polished this manuscript for publication and provided a brief forward as well.

Rosen begins with the "utter confusion and anarchy" of the medical market-place in 1875, as "regular" physicians battled both colleagues and "irregulars" for patients while trying to convince an often skeptical public of the efficacy of their services. Early attempts to enforce "fair" competition through "fee bills" and codes of ethics had failed miserably. Likewise, the licensing laws enacted later in the nineteenth century failed to regulate the marketplace, serving instead to boost the numbers of "diploma mills" churning out poorly trained physicians. Rosen depicts educational reform in this century, spurred by the American Medical Association and buttressed by the largesse of private foundations, as the long sought solution to "overcrowding" in the profession. Educational reform also provided the means to exclude "undesirables," notably women, blacks, and Jews, from the profession.

The scientific and technological advances, which gave a critical boost to the physicians' prestige and supported their claims to expanding authority in this period of reorganization and regulation, proved to be treacherous allies, encouraging the fragmentation of the profession and endangering the ideal of the free-for-service relationship between patient and physician. The tendency toward specialization strained the solidarity

of physicians, as did the divergence of teacher and researcher from general practitioner. The hospital, with its burgeoning technological supports, increasingly served as the locus of medical practice; and greater effectiveness of medical care, coupled with higher costs, inflated the ranks of the medically indigent and raised an ongoing clamor for government intervention. Such problems, born in the early decades of the twentieth century, still vex the medical profession, the public, and the policy-makers.

Much of what Rosen has said is now fairly well-trodden ground, although it was not when the book was written. Rosen focuses on the efforts of the American Medical Association as the self-proclaimed voice of American medicine to preserve a constantly threatened system of "artisan" production under siege from within and without. His interpretation invites criticism from those who are still uncomfortable with suggestions that present American health care practices and institutions are not simply the natural outcome of the disinterested march of science. Nonetheless, Rosen's book is valuable, particularly as a teaching device, due to its engaging style and concise format.

Lee Anderson
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Population and Marketing Settlements in Ch'ing China. By GILBERT ROZMAN. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982. Pp. vii + 154. Notes, tables, maps, index, bibliography. $34.50.

To the increasing body of research on Ch'ing China, the historian can now add Gilbert Rozman's *Population and Marketing Settlements.* Professor Rozman has previously written a number of studies dealing with social and demographic patterns, including works on Tokugawa Japan and eighteenth century Russia. In this slender volume, he places his study within the larger context of whether or not Ch'ing China was a dynamic or static society. His objective is to analyze temporal and spatial data gathered from large amounts of primary sources pertaining to North China.

Rozman continues where Ho Ping-ti and G. William Skinner left off. Ho had alerted researchers to the vast amounts of accurate statistical data available for Ch'ing China in *Studies on the Population of China, 1368-1953* (1959). Skinner then contributed to the field with his series of articles, "Marketing and Social Structure in Rural China" (1964-65), which investigated marketing patterns and spatial arrangements. Both

studies proved that large quantities of valid and reliable statistical material did in fact exist.

The indicators that Rozman incorporates into his analysis of variations in China include population density, urbanization, key administrative areas, population per market, and mean household size. They allow the researcher to compare variations that existed below the provincial level. The accumulated data provide valuable evidence due to the Confucian emphasis upon the written word. The data are taken from *pao-chia* population records and from the counts of marketing settlements. The village and city data indicate that the enumeration system of Ch'ing China produced an accurate population count, creating the possibilty of comparing sex ratios and social stratification.

It is in his consideration of variations by prefecture that Rozman most directly responds to the Skinner research. Rozman rules out the suggestion of the intensification of cycles of marketing patterns proposed by Skinner and suggests that northern China experienced long periods of stable levels of population per market. He further indicates that the data disproves Skinner's belief that markets disappeared in areas near the modernizing treaty ports. Population per market had an inverse relationship to population density at low levels but not at high levels. This is also in contrast with Skinner's conclusion.

Rozman concludes that while the quantities of data are sizeable, they also omit information on volume of commerce and on some vital rates such as household-level changes. It may be that future research in such areas as price statistics and genealogical records could change the interpretations of marketing in Ch'ing China. Rozman also points out something that has been so far overlooked, namely that marketing variables and major population changes appear in geographical clusters. He suggests that available information will allow future study and identification of homogeneous areas. Rozman's research indicates that rather than a restructuring, there was a large increase in markets as the population increased. Population increase was encouraged not only by early marriages but also by an absence of powerful forces that could have come from national or regional sources.

Rozman substantiates his study with numerous tables, graphs and maps. He supplements them with additional tables and other appropriate materials in the appendix. These deal with age and sex rations, household distributions by social strata, and notes on prefectural variations, particularly in Szechwan and Chihli.

The importance of Rozman's study is threefold. First, it is a valuable contribution to the scholarly research on Ch'ing China. Second, it points the way for future research by leaving some questions unanswered and by suggesting that areas such as female infanticide and the dowry system, as

well as the status of women, need more research. Third, the study is hopefully a portent of things to come as records become more easily available to Western scholars in post-Mao China.

Mary Ann Lind
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Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist. By NICK SALVATORE. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1982. Pp. 345. Notes, bibliography, index. $25.00

The great strength of Nick Salvatore's perceptive biography is that he makes Eugene V. Debs come alive in his personal life and as a public figure who symbolized American socialism's finest hour. The Debs who lives in these pages is no idealized hero, but a human being with all his flaws, weaknesses and indomitable spirit.

Combining an interpretation of evangelical Protestantism, in which Jesus is portrayed as "the inspired evangel of the downtrodden masses, the world's supreme revolutionary leader," and a radical message steeped in American revolutionary traditions, Debs gained a respected hearing among the workers. As Salvatore observes, he "embodied their experience, their social protest." Debs "brought an understanding of class into the center of American political discourse. Unlike many radicals then and since, Debs rejected a concept of class or a vision of Socialism based on determinism." (p. 343-4) He maintained a belief in the role of the individual in the class struggle.

As the Socialist Party's presidential candidate five times after 1900, Debs came to see that two fundamental developments would prepare the way for the new system: a continuous, long-range educational program of the masses, and their actual experience in the day-to-day class struggle. Their level of understanding, he thought, would be raised to such a point that they would see the need to use the ballot box as their major means for the revolutionary transformation of society-- a transformation that would restore human dignity and economic and political democracy.

What Debs failed to grasp about capitalism in the early-twentieth century was its flexibility in meeting unexpected crises. This lack of rigidity reflected the pragmatic temper of the rising economic elite which was in the process of consolidating its power. The marriage of liberal democracy and capitalism satisfied the political and economic needs of most Americans. It was the astonishing resiliency of capitalism to survive any and all critical situations that undid Debs and the socialists at the

polls. This resiliency buried all notions of an alternative socialist challenge to capitalism.

Salvatore addresses Debs' underestimation of the flexibility of capitalism, but he only touches briefly on a fascinating question that deserves greater attention. Why was Debs so widely admired and loved, when he espoused a socialist ideology rejected by most Americans? A systematic investigation of this seeming inconsistency would help illuminate the historical concern of understanding the dynamics of the relationship between leaders and their publics.

The image of a historical figure in the public mind is shaped by the needs of that public. The authenticity of a historical image may be an issue for scholars, but it is never one for a public which draws its emotional and psychological sustenance from symbolic leaders. Eugene Debs, the socialist leader, did not meet the special needs of his time, but Eugene Debs, the Christ-like "Good Shepherd" tending his flock in a time of great stress and change, was a comforting symbol that met a felt need. The mystique that enveloped Debs was rooted in these special qualities--qualities that made his public, in a "mutual exchange," pay back Debs with what he most desired: tokens of esteem and appreciation. Debs was thus perceived as the "kindest, foolishest, most courageous lover of man in the world,"[1] as a "man with a Calvary heart," and as the "living link between God and man."[2]

The popular image of Debs tells us much about the values and ideals of the age, its hopes and dreams and limitations. Debs became a symbol of defiance to the new capitalism of the Carnegies, the Rockefellers, and the Morgans. Like the hero of Frank Norris' *The Octopus*, who had fought the good fight against the railroad tycoons and lost, Debs also waged a war against the profit system and lost.

A man's life should point to something beyond himself, but few can meet the challenge of sustaining this kind of authenticity. Debs, to his credit, did, and working people responded not so much to his political leadership, but to the self-transcending charisma and symbolism of his seeming selfless dedication to others. Salvatore's biography deepens our understanding of a turbulent age in American history, and one of its significant actors.

Murray Kaufman
Berkeley

[1] Lincoln Steffens, "Eugene V. Debs", *Everybody's Magazine*, Oct., 1908. 457.

[2] Editorial from *Current Literature*, July, 1908. 35.

The Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic. By ROBERT J. SMITH. Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1982. Pp. vii + 201. Tables, index, bibliography. $39.00 (cloth), $13.95 (paper).

Although this monograph has been just recently released, Robert Smith's research on the Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS) has long been well known among students of modern France. In particular, his data on student recruitment and the career patterns of ENS alumni has been frequently cited in the flurry of studies on the continuity of elites, most notably Ezra Sulieman's *Elites in French Society*. Yet the full value of Smith's contribution is evident only upon reading his work in its entirety.

Smith focuses on two central aspects of the history of the ENS. On the one hand he outlines how this institution recruited, molded and perpetuated a moderate republican elite. On the other he examines how the humanistically trained *normaliens* were able to emerge as a dominant political group during the Third Republic. Originally created by the Revolutionary Government in 1795, the secular and republican nature of the ENS made it a target of suspicion and control with each succeeding regime. Yet the small ENS remained indispensable for any state, for it was there that the best young minds were trained, in classes of perhaps fifty each year, for positions in the educational system. *Normaliens* dominated secondary (*lycée*) and university instruction, and were in the forefront of the literary and scientific worlds. Beyond these parameters they were blocked from other careers by competing corporate interests, political circumstances, and their own humanist education.

With the collapse of the Second Empire in 1870, and the discrediting of other elites, such as the military and aristocracy, *normaliens* were able to effectively enter parliamentary life and to gain access to a wider range of state careers. From these new positions, alumni of the ENS sponsored a sweeping series of social reforms, particularly in the field of popular education. As the institution training both state leaders and educational staff, the Ecole Normale basked in reflected praise, while the choicest career opportunities were monopolized by its graduates.

Ironically the very success of the *normaliens* created the conditions for their decline. The Dreyfus Affair introduced partisan politics into the ENS itself; while the bulk of the students and faculty were pro-Dreyfus and were instrumental in his ultimate vindication, an anti-Dreyfusard and nationalist minority was also evident. Simultaneously, a tiny but visible core of socialists formed, associated with Lucien Herr and Jean Jaurès, underlining the fragmentation of the Ecole's traditional moderate republicanism. Moreover, the success of educational reform created a need for instructors beyond the capabilities of the ENS to provide them.

Coupled with the flight of younger alumni from customary educational careers into the fields of politics and journalism, the increased demand for instructors rebounded to the benefit of the Sorbonne. Finally, the inability of humanistically-trained legislators to solve the new social and economic problems of the 1920s and 1930s led to an increasing demand for administratively and technically competent personnel to grapple with affairs of state. After 1945, *normaliens* again found themselves increasingly confined to intellectual and cultural life.

The most impressive aspect of Smith's study is the statistical base he amasses on student recruitment into the ENS. Not surprisingly, most came from Paris and the older educational centers of the south and east; young men from the Catholic west or industrial north preferred less secular and more practical educational paths. Of more interest is the fact that most students were from families of educators, state functionaries and liberal professionals, far out of proportion to their representation in French society. The urban concentration and emphasis on education common to these groups is obvious, but the unusually large number of *normaliens* who were the eldest males in their families also suggests the careful husbanding of resources, the long preparation for examinations, and the use of patronage networks that are symptoms of a very traditional pattern of social mobility within one career line over the span of generations. Once established as part of the cultural and republican "aristocracy," such families tended to perpetuate themselves as *normalien* dynasties. Despite its very "middle class" composition, the ENS has always been viewed as a socially diverse institution drawing upon all social strata fairly equally, a myth the ENS perpetuated. Smith argues convincingly that, although this myth of egalitarianism was exaggerated, the social composition of the ENS was consistently more plebian and more reflective of French society generally than other *grand écoles*, and became increasingly so as students from lower class backgrounds benefitted from educational reforms to compete successfully for admission.

Reflecting Smith's original research project, his study on the period from the founding of the Third Republic until the First World War is excellent. The material for the interwar period, however, is relatively weak and often anecdotal in nature. The brevity of coverage does not allow for a detailed discussion of the November 1928 anti-militarist petition drawn up by eighty-three *normaliens*, an incident which had important repercussions among leftist literary and political groups. While Smith makes judicious use of Paul Nizan's novel *La Conspiration*, he does not draw from his correspondence or his *Les Chiens du Garde*, which directly challenged the values and worth of the ENS. A discussion of the literary networks by which students and alumni of ENS gained access to

the more prestigious periodicals and publishers, and hence established their careers early, would have been an important addition to the study.

These omissions are relatively trivial when compared to the information Smith does provide. His analysis of the social composition and politicization of the ENS is an important contribution to the scholarly understanding of the transformations and continuities of French society in the three decades preceding the First World War. Smith consciously ties his findings to those of others, especially E. Weber, and his text makes a fine companion to Terry Shinn's work on the Ecole Polytechnique. This monograph should be of immense interest to specialists in areas as diverse as the history of elites, of education, *engagé* intellectuals, and of social history generally. *The Ecole Normale Supérieure and the Third Republic* also provides an excellent example of the weaving narrative and quantitative materials together without losing intelligibility.

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Red and Hot: The Fate of Jazz in the Soviet Union. By S. Frederick Starr. New York,Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983. Pp. 368. $16.95

Studies of music by historians seem especially prone to a sort of sociological determinism which neglects the aesthetic experience of the individuals directly involved. *Red and Hot* avoids these faults admirably. S. Frederick Starr, who in addition to being a professional jazz musician is also a Russian studies scholar, has provided us with a superb study of jazz in the Soviet Union from the time of the Russian Revolution to the present. Far from being a mere musical geneology, *Red and Hot* discusses in detail the issues of cultural cross-fertilization between the Soviet Union and the United States, the meaning of popular culture and the cultural effects of contrived "official" ideologies. Starr effectively portrays the unresolvable tension between the real tastes and inclinations of the Soviet public and the ideologically rigid official culture advocated (and enforced) by the Soviet elite.

1917 was the year of both the Bolshevik revolution and the first commercial jazz recordings. Starr presents us with two simultaneous processes. First, jazz, a product of the lowest American social strata, became the popular music of America at large, and soon spread to Western Europe and Russia, where it was embraced by both the public and

the avant-garde. Second, the Bolsheviks, after coming to power, desired to create a new utopian society. This necessitated the creation of a new and ideologically correct Soviet culture. The acceptance of jazz waxed and waned with the opinions of the ideologues. Starr traces this often discordant, two-part counterpoint through sixty years.

Soviet hostility to jazz, in the early years, was at once radical and conservative. It was rooted in Marxist-Leninist ideology and also in the conservative cultural legacy of the nineteenth century, which Starr refers to as "Victorian." This conservative objection to a wildly individualistic art form, Starr notes, was shared by Americans as well, and Soviet critics might well have drawn on what they read in the periodicals of the American musical establishment.

Until 1928, jazz thrived in the Soviet Union, because this was a time of artistic experimentation. Many artists, musicians and writers saw Marxism-Leninism as a means of artistic liberation. They viewed jazz not as a vile product of Western commercialism and bourgeoise decadence, but as a true proletarian art form worthy of serious attention.

But the toleration of aesthetic diversity evaporated in 1928 with the First Five-Year Plan, in which Starr sees "the first Communist cultural revolution." (p. 80) The advocates of a true "Soviet art" sought to impose their views "from above," to purge all art and entertainment of ideological impurities. So jazz along with Tchaikovsky were casualties. Jazz became, in Gorki's phrase, "the music of the gross." (p. 79) Yet the Soviet taste for jazz could not be suppressed, and it survived the purges. Theorists had to grapple with the failure of their alternatives to take root.

Through the cultural chaos of the Stalin years, Starr shows us how jazz musicians survived, and even gained official respect. He shows us how musicians, dependent on scarce recordings and scores from the West, struggled to perfect their styles in a new and foreign idiom. Popular culture became an agent of westernization which culminated in the rise of rock and roll in the Soviet Union in the late 1960s. By that time, Starr concludes, Soviet jazzmen were no longer pale imitators but original, creative artists, fully at home in the idioms of western popular culture. Perhaps more importantly, he reminds us that popular culture depends on popular demand, and that it is exceedingly difficult to create, afresh, a true popular art form along rigid theoretical and ideological lines, and impose it successfully on a society.

Red and Hot contains much information fascinating for its sheer unexpectedness. One is startled to find cakewalks, with caricature blacks, on the sheet-music covers in czarist Russia. The account of Joseph Schillinger, the Soviet musical theorist, is also noteworthy. Schillinger migrated to New York where he wrote a treatise on the subject, and

instructed George Gershwin when he was working on his masterpiece, "Porgy and Bess."

Red and Hot is a fine study which should be of extreme interest not only to Russian scholars and musicologists, but to anyone in any way interested in cultural history.

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The Entertainment Machine: American Show Business in the Twentieth Century. By ROBERT C. TOLL. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982. Pp. xiii + 284. Illustrations, notes, bibliographic essay. $12.95 (paper) $29.95 (cloth).

Poet Robert Creeley, referring to the relationship between fictional style and narrative, once claimed that form was nothing more than the expression of content. Creeley's assertion could serve as the theme of Robert C. Toll's *The Entertainment Machine*, a comprehensive survey of American show business and entertainment media from 1880 to 1980. While Toll's earlier study, *On With the Show* (1976), focused solely on American live entertainment in the nineteenth century, the present volume delineates the symbiotic relationship between the development of electronic tecnhology--film, radio, television, records, magnetic tape, and video--and such popular genres as musicals, Westerns, crime shows, and comedy. Toll stresses that the explosion of entertainment machines in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the result of an electronic revolution which shaped the contributions of such innovative figures as D. W. Griffith in film, Frank Sinatra in music, and Lucille Ball in comedy. *The Entertainment Machine* emphasizes that it is impossible to separate the form of a particular electronic medium from its content, a point which accentuates Toll's debt to the work of Marshall McLuhan.

By the 1930s, American audiences had at their disposal a wide choice of entertainment machines for use in the home. Toll provides a useful overview of the development and impact of these machines, beginning with Thomas Edison's invention of the kinescope in the 1890s. There is a discussion of D. W. Griffith's landmark films, *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) and *Intolerance* (1916), both of which prompted President Woodrow Wilson to exclaim that Griffith's art was like "writing history with lightening." Toll also examines the connection between live stage (the most popular American entertainment form in the nineteenth century)

and the evolution of film. Topics such a the economic consolidation of the American film industry in the 1920s and the adverse effects that motion picture sound recording had on live stage and theatre are well introduced. He clarifies how pacesetters in each branch of electronic media possessed the special ability to exploit the particular technologies inherent in each form. Thus *Amos 'n Andy* drew millions of listeners in the 1930s because it capitalized so well on radio's ability to fuel the audience's imagination. Early television--with its tiny screen--suited the larger-than-life comic antics of Milton Berle and Lucille Ball.

A major drawback of *The Entertainment Machine* is that it attempts an all-inclusive view of film, television, popular music, and radio. The result is a sketchy overview of the media rather than an in-depth analysis. Although Toll links the growth of entertainment machines to historical forces, he does not develop these themes into extended arguments. He touches on such issues as the effects of the economic consolidation of the Hollywood film industry on cinematic content, the cultural dislocation brought about by the Great Depression and the public's demand for escapist entertainment, and the effects of home media on the family.

The second part of the book deals with the ways in which radio, television, music and film media have treated Western, musicals, crime, sex and comedy genres over a century. Students interested in an introduction to these topics will find Toll's brief survey excellent, although he does not provide any new historical insights. While Toll claims that the content of the media has always reflected changing public tastes and that its form has been shaped by the development of entertainment machines, he treats both form and content as an integrated whole. He could have expanded his discussion to include the role of ideology in the creation and consumption of electronic media or devoted more attention to the ways in which electronic machines impinged upon the consciousness of Americans. His survey of the development of American entertainment machines is a valuable--if somewhat broad and sketchy--introduction to a complex field. Much of what Toll has to say has been said before, but historians working in the area of popular culture can use this book as both a valuable reference work and as an introductory text for undergraduates. There is also a good, bibliographic essay directing interested readers to more intensive studies on the issues which Toll has surveyed.

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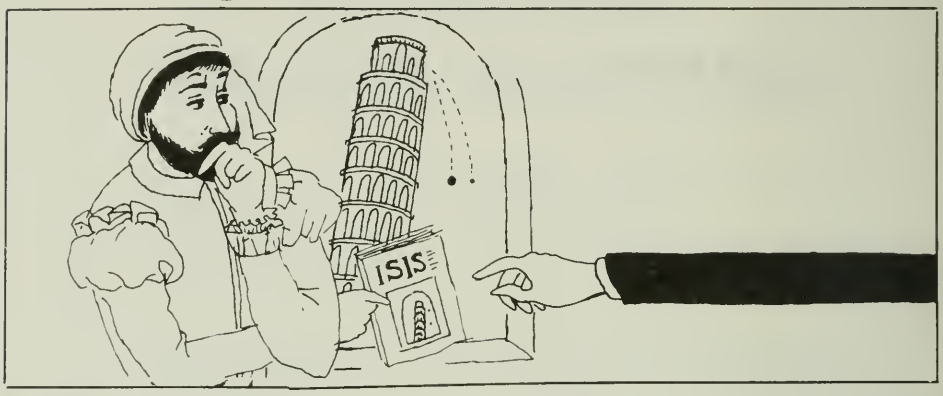

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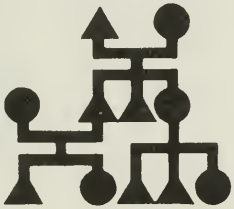

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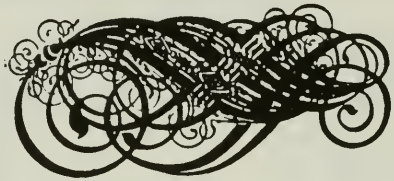

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